THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 14, 1948 NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

THE DIPLOMATIC TALKS NOW GOING ON IN Moscow can have only one of three possible outcomes. Figuratively speaking, the men who have been fighting near the edge of a precipice can agree—out of fear, if for no other reason—to seek a tolerable solution of their differences; they can arrange to do their fighting at a safer distance from the brink; or they can decide to carry on as they have, and risk the almost certain plunge into the abyss. The world is naturally grateful for a chance to hope, but any optimism must be tempered by the fact that only an approach to a full settlement can offer more than a deceptive breathing spell. The blockade of Berlin is obviously only the first link in a tight chain. The Russians, it is assumed, will abandon the blockade if the other powers abandon their plans for western Germany. These plans, in turn, are an integral part of the European Recovery Program, and can hardly be sacrificed to obtain a position in Berlin that the Western powers claim by agreement and by usage. They could be modified, however, to achieve a solution of the German question as a whole, with Russian rights in the Ruhr considered in the light of Western rights in the eastern zone, possible revision of the Polish-German border, easing of reparations, and democratic procedures for establishing a German government. But settlement on these points is unthinkable apart from worldwide considerations of the most fundamental sort. In the last analysis, there can be a real settlement only when the Soviet Union is convinced that the West is not engaged in a conspiracy against its very existence and the West is assured that the aim of the Kremlin has ceased to be world revolution. To make a beginning without having these goals in sight is to invite a failure somewhere along the line which can only plunge the world into hopelessness.

*

NOW MEETING AT BELGRADE, THE DANUBIAN conference has been described as "Lake Success in reverse." For this is an international gathering at which Russia and its allies have a firm majority of votes and Andrei Vishinsky, head of the Soviet delegation, has not bothered to conceal his whip hand in a velvet glove. The conference was hardly begun when he roughly told the minority participants—the United States, Britain, and France—that nobody had "forced" them to come and they were welcome to get out any time. He made it quite clear that any discussion must be based on the Russian draft for a Danubian convention. In general, this instrument is fairly similar to the 1921 convention, which it abrogates, and provides that navigation of the river is to be open to vessels of all nations on an equal basis. This might prove acceptable to the West, though the United States, fearing the present monopoly of the Soviet-controlled shipping companies, wishes to underline the principle of non-discrimination by establishing the right of navigation companies of all nationalities to maintain offices, warehouses, and so on in any Danubian port. The chief quarrel between East and West, however, concerns the composition of the control commission which will regulate navigation of the river from Ulm in Germany to the Black Sea Delta. Vishinsky insists that membership must be limited to the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, and the five riparian states—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria—with a place reserved for Austria after it signs the peace treaty. Germany, through which one-fifth of the river flows, is ignored, and Britain and France, which have been associated with control of the Danube for nearly a century, are excluded. The Russians can carry their point while the Western powers protest and withdraw. But the result will be one more barrier to trade between East and West Europe, for which the Danube provides a natural, but now neglected, channel.

*

THE CZAR OF MEMPHIS, IF NOT DEAD—politically speaking—is at least encouragingly sick. For twenty years, the metropolis of Tennessee has been something of a private preserve for Boss Ed Crump; no politician there could aspire to the post of dog-catcher without the master's blessing. But all that is over now. Last week, the Democrats of Tennessee rebelled, leaving Crump reeling from three blows, any one of which should assure his retirement. First, his candidate for the Senate ran a poor third in a three-cornered primary fight. Second, the nomination did not even go to Tom Stewart, the reactionary incumbent whom Crump had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 169
Is Inflation Checked? 172
Anyone Can Do It 173

ARTICLES
Politics and People: Don't Sit This One Out! *by Robert Bendiner* 173
Stumping on Capitol Hill *by Carl Levin* 174
They Cheated the Gallows *by Howard Watson Ambruster* 176
Russia, Plus and Minus: III. The Soviets and the Foreigners *by Alexander Werth* 178
Should We Rebuild Japan? *by Yole Granada* 180
From Distress to Development: II. Mr. Smith Goes to Team Valley *by Keith Hutchison* 182
"Racial Aloha" in Hawaii *by Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day* 185
Lost Cause, 1948 *by Rowena W. Tobias* 187

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Conservative Crusader *by James A. Wechsler* 188
The Giant Task *by J. King Gordon* 189
An Adult Stevenson *by James Hall* 189
Tales of Arthur Machen *by Ernest Jones* 190
The Dynamics of Parties *by Richard Hofstadter* 190
The German Problem *by Golo Mann* 191
In Brief 192
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 193

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 194

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 274 *by Frank W. Lewis* 195

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Jerry Tallmer *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Aylmer Vallance, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

abandoned (for reasons having more to do with patronage than ideology). It went instead to Estes Kefauver, an extremely enlightened young Congressman whom Crump had tried to prove a Communist and even a foreigner, though Kefauver is as innocent of Marxist taint as the Boss himself, and was born in Monroe County, Tennessee. And, third, the Crump candidate for governor was soundly trounced by a man whom the Boss liked to compare with Judas Iscariot. It remains to be seen whether Crump survives this triple disaster or follows Kelly, Pendergast, Maestri, and the big-time Tammany sachems into the twilight that seems to be closing in on the institution of the city boss. But whatever Crump's fate may be, it appears that Tennessee is about to make up to the country for having imposed upon it such Senators as Stewart and the ineffable Kenneth McKellar. Kefauver's opponent in November will be B. Carroll Reece, freshly retired from the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. A Dewey landslide is all Reece needs, plus a local miracle twice as impressive as the rout of Mr. Crump.

*

TRACKING DOWN INCONSISTENCIES IN THE pronouncements of the Communist Party is hardly more of a sport than hunting chickens in a henhouse, but occasionally it is useful to pick out a particularly flagrant one in passing—just to let the comrades know that there are limits. At the party's national convention, held in secret except for an opening night rally, William Z. Foster paid his respects to those "brazen liars who charge that the Communist Party is trying to dominate the new [Progressive] party or to claim the credit for its formation." But last May, the Communist national committee presented, in the columns of the *Daily Worker*, a draft resolution which read in part: "The Communist Party, from the earliest days after the war, understood that its traditional fight for a new people's party directed against the two-party system of the monopolies had once more been placed by events as an immediate, practical question before the American people, and, acting upon this understanding, it boldly proclaimed the need for such a new people's party." Aid in "forging the new political alignment," the committee said, was the "central immediate task" of Communists. But once it was created, theirs was also to be the duty of waging "an ideological struggle against certain economic fallacies and illusions of major forces in the people's coalition," such as " 'liberal' Keynesianism." If, as Comrade Foster says, the C. P. does not claim credit for launching the Progressive Party, and if it is not dedicated to steering it from economic heresy to Marxist truth, then it would seem to follow that the tamperers with the truth are to be found, first and foremost, in his own national committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECENT DECISION OF THE SUPREME Court in the case of *Ludecke v. United States* makes individual liberty, in the words of Justice Black's stirring dissent, "less secure tomorrow than it was yesterday." Born in Germany in 1890, Kurt G. W. Ludecke lived outside Germany most of the time from 1923 to 1933. Returning to his homeland at the end of that period, he joined the Nazi Party, but soon had his fill of it, so the Nazis put him in a concentration camp. After eight months, he escaped from the camp, and in 1934 he came to this country. In 1946, the Attorney General ordered his deportation on the basis of authority delegated to him by the President under a law adopted in 1798. The majority of the court holds that this hundred-and-fifty-year-old statute is not subject to judicial review, and that a "dangerous" alien may be deported without having been afforded a hearing to determine whether he is, in fact, dangerous. As Justice Black points out, the effect of the decision is to legalize the "peacetime banishment of any person on the judicially unreviewable conclusion of a single individual." In delivering the majority opinion, Justice Frankfurter cited a passage from Ludecke's petition to indicate the plaintiff's "attitude" and "views." Not only was the passage quoted outrageously out of context, according to Justice Black, but its very use in this instance is unjustified, since the deportation of an alien owing to his "views" entails "a strange kind of due process." This, Black declared, is a distinct threat to the security of any alien, or, for that matter, any citizen whose "ideas happen to be out of harmony with those of the governmental authorities of a period."

*

WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY was hard hit when a special federal court, on August 3, declared it unconstitutional for New Mexico to deny the franchise to reservation Indians. Only a few days earlier, the Supreme Court of Arizona had knocked out that state's ban against Indian voters by reversing one of its own decisions of twenty years ago. Now, for the first time in history, Indians everywhere in the United States can vote. The federal government has finally fulfilled the promise of Indian citizenship made in the Mexican Cession treaty, confirmed by act of Congress in 1924, and guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment. The leader of the contemporary Indian war for freedom from white supremacy was a former marine sergeant, Miguel Trujillo, a full-blooded Isleta Indian. His attorneys were supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Congress of American Indians, the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, and the Indian Bureau. On the basis of his victory, Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo Indians look forward to the use of the ballot in their fight against starvation. For six months, Arizona and New Mexico welfare officials, apparently with the tacit approval of the White House and Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, have denied federal and state social-security benefits to the aged and blind and the dependent children of Indian blood, who probably need such assistance more desperately than the members of any other group in the country. The newly enfranchised Indians of the Southwest are no longer in a mood to accept this shameful discrimination with stoical resignation.

*

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, WHO DIED IN NEW York last week at the age of seventy, fought the good fight all her life for a world free of war, prejudice, and oppression of whatever sort. She was a woman of vigor and intelligence, with gifts of persuasion that caused her to be described, at one point, as "the most powerful woman in the world." She even persuaded Henry Ford to charter the famous peace ship of 1915, in an attempt to get the belligerents to declare an armistice and then resolve their disagreements by peaceful processes. The venture was doomed to failure, and brought only ridicule and denunciation upon its initiators, but though her means, in this case, were quixotic, Rosika Schwimmer's objective was sound. Her portrait deserves to hang in the halls of the United Nations. After World War I ended, Mme Schwimmer, who was a native of Hungary, had a part in the short-lived Karolyi government. When the reactionaries regained power, she became a voluntary exile and, after several years in Europe, came to America. In 1929, the Supreme Court had the dishonor of barring Mme Schwimmer from citizenship —though, as Justice Holmes said in his dissent, she was "obviously more than ordinarily desirable as a citizen of the United States"—because of her pacifist declaration that she would not bear arms in defense of this country. She remained here, nevertheless, as an alien resident. Mme Schwimmer has been nominated by members of the Parliaments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, and Hungary as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize of 1948. We can think of no more just selection.

*

THE GOOD NEWS, EARLY LAST WEEK, THAT the Rochester, N. Y., Board of Education had refused to ban *The Nation* was quickly offset by the almost unbelievable action of the New York State Federation of Labor, which went out of its way to indorse, without qualifications, the prohibition imposed on this magazine by Dr. William Jansen of New York City. The Federation's resolution must have been particularly disconcerting to one of its constituent bodies, the New York Teachers Guild, which is a member of the Ad Hoc committee to fight the ban. Pushed through in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closing hours of the Federation's annual meeting, the resolution promised to support Dr. Jansen in any further action he might take along lines of the precedent he has already set. This, from a labor group that is only too well aware of present threats to its own freedom. An important goal in the A. F. of L.'s bitter fight against the Taft-Hartley law is certainly a free labor press. Unlike the Federation, the upstate educators showed commendable courage in refusing to knuckle under to the Catholic War Veterans' demand for a *Nation* ban. Perhaps this isolated bravery will set an example for others who are enjoined to practice censorship under the mask of tolerance.

*

MEANWHILE, IN BOSTON, THE LOCAL chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has taken up the battle to restore *The Nation* to the library shelves of the State Teachers Colleges of Massachusetts, from which it was barred by the summary ruling of Director Patrick J. Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan, in a letter to Freda Kirchwey, has attempted to justify his stand by arguing: "Many [*Nation*] articles . . . are inconsistent with the program of 'Zeal for American Democracy' which we are trying to develop. . . ." It would be most illuminating, in this regard, to learn how Mr. Sullivan interprets the Bill of Rights and the Constitutional provisions on the separation of church and state.

Is Inflation Checked?

NOW that Congress, under Republican leadership, has decided upon the action it thinks proper to check inflation, what are the prospects? Rising prices are, at the bottom, the result of too much money colliding with too few goods. Neither Congress nor anybody else can solve our present difficulty by increasing the supply of goods; with a labor force already fully employed, the production of the nation can be expected to increase this year hardly more than 3 per cent. The excess of demand is far greater than that. What, then, is Congress doing to check the flow of money?

The banks are the immediate source of money (including deficits). When bank loans, as a whole, increase, demand for the country's products increases; when loans decline, demand falls off. Congress rightly favors measures, therefore, to restrict the expansion of bank credit. But the measures proposed are not likely to have much effect in the desired direction, at least for a long time.

First, there is the restriction of the credit that may be extended by Federal Reserve banks at the center of the system. Under recent law, their gold reserve had to be at least 25 per cent of the combined total of their deposits plus Federal Reserve notes in circulation. It is proposed to return to the old system of requiring a reserve of at least 40 per cent of the money and 35 per cent of the deposits. At present, the gold stock is over $23 billion, equivalent to more than 50 per cent of deposits and notes. An expansion of Reserve credit amounting to more than $20 billion would be possible under the new bill, even if no more gold should be accumulated.

Reserve requirements for the member banks may be varied by Federal Reserve authorities within limits set by law. The authorities had already reached the top limits allowed, and the new bill increases them moderately. But the excess reserves of the member banks were running in the neighborhood of a billion dollars. The new requirements may force some of the member banks to go to the central banks in order to increase their loans, and if so, the total amount of the loans that member banks may extend to the public is something like six times as much as the credit allowed them by the Reserve banks. The new law, then, leaves us with a possible expansion of roughly $120 billion. This could further increase spending, as it passed from hand to hand. As far as any legal limit on the total volume of credit is concerned, we might have a national income—in money—double or three times its present size, to buy almost the same quantity of goods.

It is true that the new law might bring about a slight rise in interest rates to bank borrowers, but an increase in interest does not greatly restrict borrowing during a period of heavy demand and large profits. The reimposition of limitations on consumers' instalment loans could help some, but few consumers were exceeding these limitations before.

Aside from control of bank credit, the other great means of checking inflation is for the government to tax more than it spends. That policy was virtually abandoned by Congress this spring when it reduced taxes and appropriated more money for the military. Governmental fiscal policy may soon help to boost prices.

Of course, Congress spurned suggestions for rolling back or controling specific prices of particularly scarce commodities. If we get cheaper food, it will be because crops are bigger. Even then, governmental price supports will come into play before prices have fallen far. And lower prices for grain cannot bring lower prices for meat before next year.

Prices need not climb indefinitely, just because ample bank credit is available. Business and consumers do not necessarily continue borrowing until bank reserve limits are reached. The boom may crack simply because a sufficient number of families have bumped against the limit of what they can buy with their combined earnings, savings, and borrowings. If prices do recede within the next year, it will not be the result of anything Congress has done, but of the "natural" forces which, in the past, have generally brought recession out of inflation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anyone Can Do It

IN THE past week, three self-confessed Communist spies have testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities, bringing sensational, but unproved, charges against past and present federal officials. The committee, with its ravenous appetite for headlines, has created a new racket. Any neurotic exhibitionist who can claim to have been a Communist is now assured of absolution, soul-satisfying publicity, and probably more material rewards in the shape of payment for exclusive newspaper stories, lecture contracts, and good jobs. If Horace Greeley were alive today, he might well advise the young to "go red!" It is a profitable investment, if you choose the right time to sell out.

The ex-Communist coming to the Congressional stool of repentance needs only some small inside knowledge of the party and a lively imagination. He must, of course, introduce into his testimony the names of a few notorious Communists or fellow-travelers to give it verisimilitude; after that, he is free to murder the reputation of anyone who is or has been in the public service, though preference should be given to New Dealers. The fact that the witness may not be able to substantiate his tales does not expose him to the danger of a libel suit. The cloak of Congressional privilege covers him as it covers the committee. Even if he is caught in a lie, the committee is not likely to endanger the supply of anti-Communist witnesses by proceeding against him for perjury.

We have no doubt that a few Communists have found their way into government jobs and have abused their positions by passing on confidential information to Russian agents. The well-established fact that the first loyalty of Communists is to the Soviet Fatherland provides legitimate ground for evicting them from government posts where they have access to information affecting security. To this end, the Administration has set up an elaborate organization, with the result that a small number of civil servants have been fired in the past two years. The "evidence" concerning others, now given to the Un-American Committee by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, was long ago available to the FBI. If, nevertheless, these officials have been allowed to keep their jobs, it is a fair inference that searching inquiry has failed to substantiate the charges against them.

Yet, with no compunction, Mr. Mundt and his colleagues have allowed Miss Bentley and Mr. Chambers to repeat their accusations in public. Moreover, these witnesses have been encouraged to brand as Communist or Communist stooges Messrs. White, Currie, and Hiss, three former holders of responsible government positions, without affording them any prior opportunity to bring refutation. As a result, a cloud has been cast on their reputations which will not easily be dispersed, since such accusations always have a head-start over denials. Once again, the inquisitors of the Un-American Committee have been calling men to answer for infamous crimes without the Constitutional guarantees of grand jury indictment, trial by their peers, and the right to confront accusers in court. However urgent may be the task of searching out Soviet agents, it cannot begin to justify so blatant a disregard of the Bill of Rights.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Don't Sit This One Out!

IT MAY be a hard and thankless task to convince independent voters that they are not entitled to hibernate this year just because the choice of Presidential nominees fails to quicken the pulse. Among anti-Wallace liberals in general, and especially in labor circles, it is somewhat fashionable to yawn ostentatiously when President Truman's name is mentioned, and to hint that November 2, 1948, might be an ideal date for squirrel hunting, poker playing, or catching up on sleep. Yet, however uninspired one may be by Presidential prospects, the fact remains that, out of 531 seats in Congress, some 467 are to be filled on that same November 2. How they are filled will go far toward deciding what happens to the country in the next few years, regardless of who sits in the White House signing bills or imposing vetoes.

With all these Congressional fights in the offing, there should be enough excitement and enough activity to satisfy the requirements of amateur politicians who want to "do something" but can't quite see doing it for either Truman or Wallace, much less for Thomas E. Dewey. In many states, the Congressional battle-lines have not yet been drawn or the fights are still in the primary stage. But as even a preliminary glance will show, there are enough contests already lined up to insure a brisk autumn.

Some of the best and some of the worst of the Capitol Hill incumbents face the fight of their political lives, and a few have already gone down. Among the casualties so far, it is pleasant to note, are Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel of Texas, whose behavior had become so embarrassingly queer that he withdrew rather than face certain defeat in the primary; and Oklahoma's oil-stained Senator Moore. For O'Daniel's seat, Texas promises a scorching run-off between Lyndon Johnson and former Governor Coke Stevenson, a Democrat of the Garner vintage. Johnson, a mild New Dealer, lost the support of labor when he went along on the Taft-Hartley act, but he has an otherwise respectable record to his credit, including support of price control and the best of the Administration's foreign policy. Some of his Washington friends say they have reason to believe that his vote for the Taft-Hartley bill was tactical, and that he would have opposed it had there been any real chance of defeating it. In any case, Johnson would be a great improvement over recent Texas contributions to the Senate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

My Mississippi informants advise me that John Rankin stands an excellent chance of attaining a well-deserved obscurity. Cantankerous old John ran fifth in a race of five for Bilbo's Senate seat last year, and local observers feel that even his native Tupelo has had about enough of him. What with the $6,000 pension he would draw as a retired Congressman, he can't play on the sympathy of his constituents, and it will be hard for him to make much of the white-supremacy issue when both his opponents are willing to pay at least lip-service to that shabby doctrine. One of these, a lawyer named Clayton, is a fellow-townsmen of Rankin's and will, therefore, reduce his local appeal. The other, endorsed by Mississippi liberals, is Circuit Judge Raymond Jarvis, who is believed to have the inside track.

Ironically, Rankin's most determined foe in the House likewise faces a struggle for political survival. Abraham J. Multer, of Brooklyn, who has engaged in a running duel with Rankin over the Mississippian's anti-Semitic jibes, will have to fight it out with none other than Lee Pressman, brain-truster for Henry Wallace. Multer has gone down the line for the Administration in his short career as a Congressman, but the Coney Island district is preponderantly Jewish and the hope of the American Labor Party is to duplicate last February's coup by Leo Isacson, who swept a district of the Bronx on the basis of Truman's ineptitude on Palestine. Pressman, however, will have to face the combined opposition of the Democrats, the Republicans and the Liberals, all of whom are backing Multer. A similar coalition in the Twenty-fourth District will make it difficult for Isacson to win against State Assemblyman Isadore Dollinger, who can boast a consistently liberal voting record in the legislature. Vito Marcantonio, who has always been able to count on at least one major-party indorsement, and often both of them, will have to go it alone this time as the A. L. P. candidate, and he does not expect to have an easy time of it. Another nervous New York Congressman is Jacob K. Javits, elected in 1946 as a Republican in a normally Democratic district. Javits, who rates as one of the very few liberal Republicans in the Eightieth Congress, will be opposed by Paul O'Dwyer, the Mayor's brother, running as a Democrat with A. L. P. backing.

Generally speaking, the Wallace Progressives will probably find better pickings in California, where they are in a strong position, not to win seats of their own, but to pick off some of the best New Deal candidates running for the House. Chief prospective victim is Helen Gahagan Douglas. They don't venture to question her record, but they have a candidate to draw away her votes just the same, in spite of the self-deception of some uneasy Wallace followers that their party wouldn't really do such a thing when the chips were down. Mrs. Douglas won in 1946 by only 4.4 per cent of the total vote. Having failed by a hair to get the Republican nomination this year as well as the Democratic, she can hardly look upon that margin with any assurance. The Progressive candidate himself should be good for more than 5 per cent of the vote, and the Republicans are greatly strengthened by Earl Warren's high place on the ticket.

Tight Senate races are promised in West Virginia, Illinois, and Minnesota. If the Democrats win in all three, the Senate will be greatly improved by the presence of Matthew M. Neely, Paul Douglas, and Hubert Humphrey. If they lose, we will have to suffer along with Revercomb, Brooks, and Ball.

These are only a few of the bouts already scheduled for the fall Congressional tournament, to which this column intends to give the greater part of its space between now and November. Tips from readers will be gratefully received and investigated.

Stumping on Capitol Hill

BY CARL LEVIN

Washington, August 7

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S two-week refresher course on the evils of the Grand Old Party produced no surprises. All optimistic hopes for any really beneficial, non-political achievement from the special session of Congress were finally laid to rest today as Senators and Representatives rushed to ticket windows for passage to their homes and hustings. Except for the approval, at long last, of the $65,000,000 loan for the United Nations headquarters, the legislative by-products of the session are almost negligible. As far as the political in-fighting goes, the consensus here is that Mr. Truman, so far, is considerably ahead on points.

CARL LEVIN is on the Washington Staff of the New York Herald Tribune.

Stumping on Capitol Hill, however, proved to be rough on both sides. Mr. Truman's wounds—probably not too damaging in the long view—resulted from several unforeseen assaults. These included the Communist-spy hearings by committees in both houses, which could cost the President votes among some segments of the citizenry, and the exposure of his failure, many months ago, to take the apparently sound advice of the Federal Reserve Board on anti-inflationary measures.

The embarrassing tale of how the President had once spurned counsel he now finds it expedient to adopt came, as it was expected it would some day come, from the lips of Marriner S. Eccles, the Democrat who was demoted from the Federal Reserve Board chairmanship by Mr. Truman last fall and replaced by Thomas McCabe, a Republican business man. Mr. Eccles, who has remained a board member through a feeling that personal pride

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must be subordinated to the national interest, told the story by way of necessary background in testifying on the President's eight-point anti-inflation program.

POLITICAL interest, of course, centers not on the legislation passed and unpassed, but on the forces—inter- and intra-party—at work on the floors and in the cloak rooms.

Mr. Truman obviously was stumping. He had chosen the political arena to announce the special session, and made no pretense of concealing its purpose and implications. From the White House, throughout the two-weeks' session, he kept the heat on, using his lieutenants to make his criticism heard in the halls of Congress, and the press to make it known to the country at large. Unnoticed by some, he even waived his self-imposed rule against commenting on legislation in progress before it reaches his desk.

Many Republicans candidly admit that he has made important gains. He was enabled to open his campaign in Washington, where as President he enjoys free radio time and the benefits of government publicity services that would not accrue elsewhere to him as a candidate. Republicans view this as money in the till for the Democratic campaign chest. Moreover, Mr. Truman stands to win credit for anything Congress *did* pass, while blistering it, of course, for what it didn't. Finally, the President managed to keep the opposition in Washington for two hot weeks of defensive sparring, when it might have been deployed through the country, telling the people to vote Republican.

REPUBLICAN strategy was just as obvious, although less well coordinated. Careful not to become too closely tied to a Congress for whose failings he could not be held responsible, Governor Dewey did not exert his leadership of the party at this time beyond two or three recommendations for action. For one thing, he advised G. O. P. chieftains against adjourning spitefully as soon as the President had finished his address at the opening of the session. At the same time, the Republican candidate made it publicly clear, through Herbert Brownell, his campaign manager, that he considered the meeting a lame-duck affair. It was something like the man who puts an advertisement in the paper: "My wife having left my bed and board, I am no longer responsible for her debts."

Mr. Dewey did take a direct and supporting interest in two of the President's proposals: the loan for building a new United Nations headquarters and liberalization of the discriminatory displaced-persons act passed by the Congress in regular session. By public announcement, the New York governor emphasized the fact that he was opposed to any further delay in approving the loan that has come to be regarded as the collateral that proves our good faith to the U. N. At least partly owing to his influence, the measure, held up until now by isolationist diehards, was approved. In the matter of the D. P. bill, Mr. Dewey intervened more directly. He made representations to Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, chairman of the subcommittee blocking the revised legislation. The representations, however, were futile, and the revisions died in committee.

Without regard to Mr. Dewey's leadership, or lack of leadership, the G. O. P. strategists were guided by two main considerations: they did not want to pass anything for which Mr. Truman would take the credit; they did not want to get snarled up in a long session that would string out the Democratic "free" time and keep the Republicans from getting home, where they could take the offensive. They were alert to the fact that there are eighteen Republican and only fourteen Democratic Senatorial seats at stake in the November elections, and that it is quite possible for them to lose control of the upper house.

BEHIND the scenes, all was not sweetness and light for the Republicans. At the G. O. P. Senate conference on Wednesday morning, a faction proposed abandoning the effort to outlaw the poll tax by statute and accepting the Dixiecrat offer to compromise by submitting the question to the long-drawn-out process of Constitutional amendment. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, who had earlier been assigned to argue for the anti-poll-tax bill on the floor, then blew up and read the riot act to his colleagues, warning them that to accept the compromise would be to bed themselves down with the Dixiecrats on civil-rights issues. He added that the inevitable Southern filibuster that would preclude passage of the bill in this abbreviated session could have been broken in advance if the Republicans had followed his urging, two years ago, to amend the Senate rules on cloture. Now it was too late, and Morse had to settle, for his part, on a party commitment to seek the necessary amendments. First, however, he took the floor and excoriated the Senate—and, in effect, his party—for not having made adequate tactical preparations to break the filibuster it had deliberately invited as an anti-Truman maneuver.

There was an even more serious division among the Republicans on the housing issue. The leadership, including Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, one of the sponsors of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, took the official view that half a loaf was better than none and decided to accept the watered-down substitute bill proposed by the House and favored by the real-estate lobby. It was a measure stripped of the vital public-housing and slum-clearance subsidies provided for in Taft's own bill. At this point, Senators Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire and Ralph E. Flanders of Vermont bolted the party line and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

joined with the Democratic minority of the Banking and Currency Committee. The minority thus became a majority—and the T.-E.-W. bill was reported out against the wishes of its sponsor and other party leaders.

The rebellion of course, did not get very far. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin came up with a "compromise" amendment concurring in all essential features —and missing features—with the House proposal, and his amendment was quickly adopted. All the same, the liberal Republicans got in a few last licks: "They are calling upon us to eat political crow filled with political poison, and I don't want any of [that] food," said Morse bitterly as he voted against the amendment.

The vote itself was interesting. Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, generally considered to reflect the Dewey position, voted for the McCarthy amendment. He stated that he voted on the "half-a-loaf" theory, without consulting the Presidential candidate. Mr. Dewey's views on public housing and slum clearance, Ives added, are well known from his record.

At the same time, Senator William Knowland of California, who often mirrors the views of Earl Warren, California's governor and Mr. Dewey's reputedly more progressive running mate, voted against the amendment. "The boys had better get together," a Republican Senator was heard to say.

AMONG other things, the special session proved once again that you cannot call one of the two major parties white and the other black—to say nothing, of course, about the third party. The fact is that if any single man is to be set down as the hero of the session, impartial observers here are inclined to accord that honor to Republican Charles Tobey. Heroes, however, did not prevail in this session. Mr. Tobey took his usual beating from the coalition of conservative Republicans and reactionary Democrats. "I am persuaded," he told me today in weary resignation, "that nothing was done here which will give the American people any relief from the high prices tragically bearing down on them."

They Cheated the Gallows

BY HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER

FOUR obscure Americans, sitting as judges at Nürnberg, handed down a decision on July 30 that absolves twenty-three I. G. Farben officials of the charge of plotting war. By this appalling ruling, the court has failed in its duty to render justice, strengthen international law, and destroy the seeds of future wars. As if to add insult to injury, it has coupled its acquittals of the Farben leaders on the war-plotting charge with grossly inadequate sentences—applied only to thirteen of the twenty-three accused—for industrial plunder of victim nations and the commission of atrocities, including murder, on slave laborers and captive men, women, and children.

War plotting is a violation of Article 11 of Allied Control Council law number 10, which takes its language from sections of the London Charter of 1945. For many reasons, it was by far the most important indictment brought against the Farben criminals, principally because it gave an opportunity, once and for all, to affix the same guilt to "respectable" industrial leaders who abet wars of aggression as to the political and military figures who nominally wage them. The acquittal of the Farben leaders on this count, followed by a similar verdict in the case of twelve officials of the Krupp steel combine last April, ends all hope that, out of the war-crimes trials, we can expect a strong international precedent that would outlaw such activities.

HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER, a chemical engineer, is the author of "Treason's Peace."

Briefly, the alibi of the Farben hierarchy was that its members "didn't know" when and if Hitler would start a war. As forecast in my article in *The Nation* on March 20, Farben Nazis on Trial—Will They Cheat the Gallows?, the acquittals were based on the same perverse logic that gave freedom, in 1946, to Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht, Hitler's Finance Minister and apologist, who also "didn't know" that Hitler intended to start a war.

They didn't know! But as long ago as 1934, Winston Churchill dramatically warned the House of Commons that England should prepare itself against German bombers, and Hitler's aggressive intentions were widely discussed, in America and elsewhere, from the day he assumed power. To ascribe ignorance of the facts of life to German industrialists, sponsors of an international cartel that produced armaments and chemicals on a wartime scale for half a decade before "hostilities" began, is to abandon one's powers of reason and ignore mountains of evidence to the contrary.

The whine that "I didn't know," following its acceptance in the Schacht case, was quite clearly swallowed by the judges in the Krupp trial. "Advance knowledge of Hitler's war plans," these earlier judges said, "was not [proved] against the Krupp officials," adding tha

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"proof that each defendant had actual knowledge of the plans for at least one of the invasions of wars of aggression" was necessary "in order to find him guilty." General Telford Taylor, chief of the United States war-crimes prosecution, appealed for a reversal of this ruling with these stinging words: "Under such an interpretation, a man who joins with and supports . . . gangsters in an undertaking to rob a series of banks cannot be held criminally responsible unless he knew which particular bank would be robbed first."

The Farben judges placed stress on the importance of proving allegations beyond a "reasonable doubt." In this connection, their opinion says:

> The conspiracy to wage war was a secret plan . . . none of the Farben officials were in on it. Evidence falls short of establishing beyond reasonable doubt that their activities were undertaken and carried out with knowledge that they were preparing for participation in an aggressive war that had already been planned, either generally or specifically by Hitler and his immediate circle of Nazi civil and military fanatics.

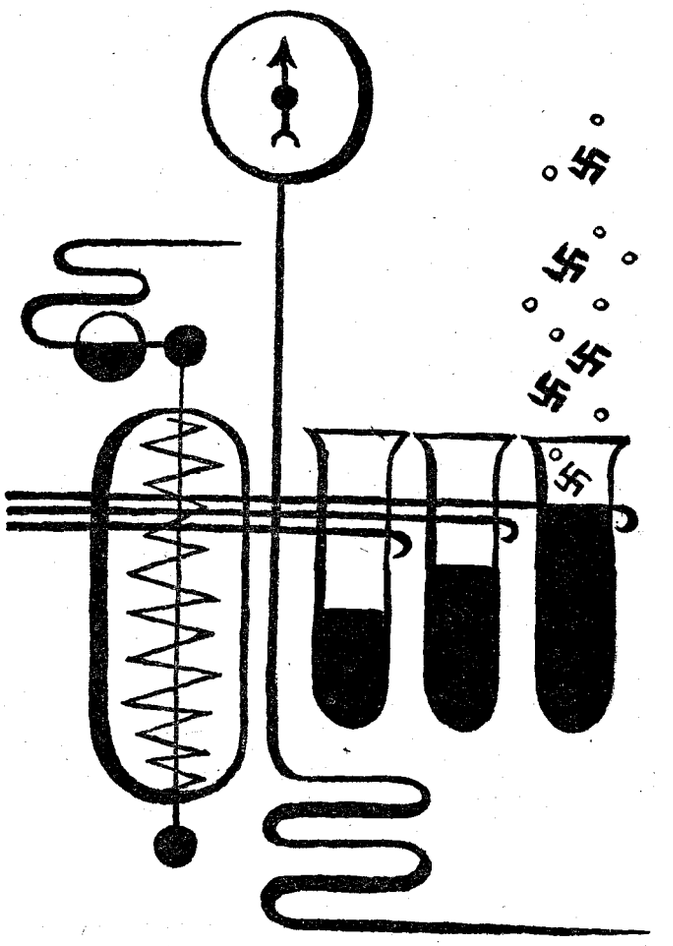
But the judges have carried scrupulousness to the point of absurdity. Aside from the fact that the Farben officials —clever and shrewd men with world-wide communications and sources of information—could not have failed to realize Hitler's intentions, their stepped-up production schedules and accumulating stock piles were token enough of what was to come. There was also a mass of evidence available to the judges, if they had wished to consider it, showing that the men they were trying had made frequent trips to the United States in the twenties and thirties, seeking, in preparation for war-time operations, to influence or control our war industries, organs of public opinion, and certain carefully selected political and governmental figures.

Overwhelming proof that several of the accused had direct knowledge of the rearmament program was also available to the judges. The dossier on Herman Schmitz, organizer and evil genius of the German, Swiss, and American I. G. Farben companies, reveals that he was trained in the Kaiser's War Ministry during World War I; was a director of Farben's subsidiary steel trust; was an associate of Schacht in the Reichsbank; was a Cabinet minister during the Weimar Republic; served in Hitler's Reichstag; and was a member of Hitler's Raw Materials Committee. The record also proves that Schmitz was told by Goering, at a meeting in 1936 of high Nazi officials, including the Ministers of War and Air, that considerations of cost were immaterial when it came to military production. Attending another meeting of industrialists and officials in 1936 were two other defendants: Carl Karuch, Farben's chairman and Goering's administrator of chemical production, and Georg von Schnitzler, Farben's espionage chief. Von Schnitzler was a brother-in-law of Nazi General Fedor von Bock, and father-in-law of Herbert Sholz, a leading Gestapo agent who served in the United States as secretary to the German Ambassador and as Consul General in Boston. Both of these men heard Goering declare that the sole aim of the four-year-plan he then proposed was war, and that, "if we win, business will be sufficiently compensated." And they heard him add, "We are already at war. All that is lacking is the actual shooting."

Before his trial, von Schnitzler, in an effort to turn some sort of state's evidence, made many admissions of the criminal activities of Farben's leaders and of his own foreknowledge of Hitler's intention to rearm. "I must conclude," he once said, "that I. G. Farben was largely responsible for Hitler's policy."

And yet he, Karuch, and Schmitz were classified by the court as "followers, not leaders," and as "neither high public officials nor high military leaders." And that judgment, which reduces reasoning to madness, is explained by the court in this fashion: "If we lower the standard of participation [in war crimes] to include [the Farben leaders], it would be difficult to draw a line between the guilty and innocent among the great mass of German people." Then comes this gem: "It is unthinkable that the majority of Germans should be condemned as guilty of committing crimes against the peace."

Justice Robert H. Jackson, American prosecutor at the first and most famous Nürnberg trials, told the tribunal



Drawing by Oscar Berger

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that "the United States will be concerned with the brains and authority back of all the crimes—to reach the planners and designers, the inciters and leaders, without whose evil architecture the world would not have been so long scourged with the agonies and convulsions of this terrible war." The guilt of the industrialists, said Mr. Jackson, some time later, "did not differ from those convicted, save at a lower level and less conspicuous." Instead of punishment for this guilt—and a precedent which would warn all future industrial war-plotters of the risks they were taking—there has now emerged, at Nürnberg, the promise of a new I. G. Farbenindustrie, that fabulous organization which, unlike vanquished armies and governments, never surrenders and never dies. Only thirteen of its leaders were convicted of *any* crime; the average sentence of those convicted was four years and four months; Schmitz, the arch-criminal, escaped with four years flat. Since he has already been in jail for three years and four months, he has but eight months left to serve.

There is a way he could be dealt further—though still insufficient—punishment. At last report, two indictments dating from 1941 still stood against him in New York's Federal Court. Since they charge him with violation of anti-trust regulations, they do not place him in double jeopardy with the charges at Nürnberg. If convicted on all counts, he would be subject to three years of imprisonment and $15,000 in fines.

There are also numerous petitions before Congress asking for an investigation of the conduct of war-crimes trials at Nürnberg and of the manner in which Germany's industrial war-potential is being dealt with by the Military Government. These petitions, bearing thousands of names from places as far apart as Phoenix, Ariz., Cleveland, and New York City, have all been shuttled over to the Senate Armed Services Committee and the House Rules Committee. To date, those committees have ignored repeated inquiries as to what action Congress proposes to take in respect to the manner in which justice is mocked in Nürnberg.

Russia, Plus and Minus

III. THE SOVIETS AND THE FOREIGNERS

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

London, July

ALL foreigners in Russia today are undesirable, though in varying degrees. Even Communists from Yugoslavia,* Czechoslovakia, or Poland are not considered 100 per cent proof: for all one knows, they may some day go abroad and change their minds. The new cult, "pride in being a Soviet citizen," is more universally touted than ever before. All contact with bourgeois civilization or with people from bourgeois countries is evil. At a public lecture on Palestine, a Jew in the audience asked whether he could go to Palestine. The lecturer was outraged. "As a Soviet citizen," he said, "you should be ashamed of yourself." I once asked a prominent Russian why the Russian women who had married Englishmen were not allowed to join their husbands. "Because," he replied, "our people are being drilled to say, 'Civis Sovieticus sum.' Anyone not valuing this honor sufficiently is to be treated as a deserter." "I daresay," he added, "some exceptions may be made." This is the line that the authorities are taking with the remaining Soviet wives, pressing them to divorce their husbands as others have already done. It is common knowledge, too, that in recent months a dozen or more Russians in Moscow have been arrested for hobnobbing and gossiping too much with foreigners; other Russians with foreign contacts have either been ordered to leave Moscow or warned to avoid their foreign friends in future. The treatment of persons friendly with Americans or Western Europeans has been particularly drastic. The case of two members of the staff of the American embassy who publicly declared their preference for the Soviet way of life and announced their decision to stay in Russia received great publicity in the press. The American embassy claimed that, in both cases, feeling for a Russian of the opposite sex was at the root of the trouble.

When Dame Edith Evans recently opened a Shakespeare exhibition in Moscow, not a single member of the British embassy and not a single British correspondent was invited to the ceremony, not even the correspondent of the *Daily Worker*. As far as possible—and a great deal is possible in Russia—foreigners are isolated and even ostracized. Security regulations concerning them extend to every field of activity; a special general clinic for foreigners is being set up now, so that they need not come into personal contact with Russian hospital patients. The papers have written time and again that

This is the third of Mr. Werth's uncensored series of articles on the Soviet Union today. The final article in this series, to appear next week, will discuss the status of literature, music, and other arts in Russia.

* Mr. Werth wrote shortly before the announcement of the Tito-Cominform split bore out his analysis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foreigners are anxious to instil the poison of Western ideas into the minds of "the wobblier part of our intelligentsia"; in other words, Soviet authors and composers, scientists and doctors are expected to avoid foreign contacts.

The number of foreigners in Russia has been strictly limited, first, by the refusal of entry visas, and then by the rate of exchange, which has been fixed at thirty-two rubles to the pound, and will probably be reduced still further. In terms of purchasing power, the pound here has little more than a third of its London value. To live very modestly at the Metropole, without counting extras or entertaining, one has to spend four to five pounds a day. As a result, practically all embassy and legation staffs are being cut down. In hotels where foreigners live, both rooms and meals are much more expensive than in others, and the rents of houses let to foreigners are higher than what Russians pay. The official view seems to be that all foreigners, if not spies, are at any rate hostile, or potentially hostile. That the great majority of "capitalist" diplomats are unfriendly to Russia is, of course, perfectly true.

Unlike the American embassy, the British embassy has no "deserters," but it and its publication, the *British Ally,* have been attacked by the Russian press in other ways. For a long time, the military attaché was built up as "the funny spy" through cartoons and circus acts, and an incident which brought two junior members of the embassy into court received uproarious publicity in the press, singled out from the hundreds of drunken brawls in Moscow about which not a line appeared. One report of the episode concluded sanctimoniously with the words: "The Soviet customers of the restaurant gave very low marks to the manners and customs of these foreigners."

As a result of this compulsory isolation, foreigners and particularly diplomats lead an extraordinarily artificial life, seeing nobody except fellow-diplomats and a few other foreigners; even their official contacts with Russians are rare. The British Ambassador has not seen Mr. Molotov for months except at occasional official receptions; and there, it seldom goes beyond saying how do you do.

OF THE foreign press, I would say this. I have served seven years as a correspondent in the Soviet Union. For the first six years, I, unlike some of my colleagues, found the work extremely interesting and illuminating. I also found that, by phrasing my dispatches with sufficient care, I could present an accurate if not always complete picture of the main trends of thought and the principal events in Russia. I traveled a great deal and knew large numbers of Russians. I could cope with the censorship fairly well. But last year, conditions became much more difficult. Travel was limited to a small area around Moscow, and to Leningrad and perhaps Kiev; contacts, for the reasons given above, became fewer and fewer; expenses after the December currency reform were very high. I could still study the papers and periodicals, but that was not the "live" reporting I had done in the past. The censorship was something of a gamble; for reasons often hard to explain, it varied in severity; but on the whole, it became stricter and stricter.

It is certainly true that the Soviet attitude toward foreign correspondents changed very sharply for the worse after the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. For this, there were three reasons: First, with the deterioration of international relations, the Russians formed the conviction that practically all capitalist newspapers were anti-Soviet. Second, in his interview with Harold Stassen, Stalin had said, in effect, that most foreign correspondents in Moscow were there only to cause mischief, and from that time on, this was pretty well accepted as the party line on the subject. Third, most of the numerous diplomatic correspondents who accompanied the British, American, and French delegations to Moscow wrote long articles about Russia after they returned home which were full of as malicious, mean, and plainly ignorant nonsense as some of the recent Russian pieces about Britain or America.

To discourage finally all Russian contacts with foreign journalists, great publicity was given last May to the "Magidoff case." Magidoff, an American correspondent of Russian origin who had worked in Russia for the past twelve years, was denounced in *Izvestia* by his secretary as a spy. That the case against him was not a serious one was made fairly evident by the fact that he was not arrested but simply ordered to leave in forty-eight hours. Internally, however, the right effect was achieved: Russians said to themselves: "You can't be sure of any correspondent; they may all be spies, even those who, like Magidoff, have lived here for years and are reputed to be pro-Soviet. Therefore, avoid them like the plague."

The Russian official view of foreign newspapermen is roughly this: Correspondents of Communist papers are of little value, because the Communist papers present the official Soviet line anyway. Correspondents who are consistently hostile will have their lives made miserable by our censorship. Those who are reasonably fair will more often than not get into trouble with their capitalist employers. Therefore, representatives of capitalist newspapers are, especially while the present tension lasts, of little or no value to us.

I often argued with Russian officials that Poland had gained enormously from the absence of censorship and the freedom of correspondents; this freedom inside Poland, I said, had dealt a death blow to the more virulent type of anti-Polish propaganda produced abroad. But the answers of the Russians were always evasive. "Yes, yes, but Poland isn't the Soviet Union." I was willing to compromise on a "security censorship" and at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

least a little more freedom of movement—but my pleas had no effect.

In these conditions, the number of special correspondents has been steadily declining in the last year. The three principal news agencies continue to maintain offices in Moscow largely as a matter of routine. It seems incredible that a great country of such enormous interest to the world and with so many positive achievements should persist indefinitely in hiding itself from the outside world, but such is the policy of the moment.

Should We Rebuild Japan?

BY YOLE GRANADA

Tokyo, July

FOR Watanabe-san, grubbing around in the black muck of his paddy field in Tochigi Prefecture, the implications of the Strike report, the Draper recommendations, and General MacArthur's recent statement about the necessity of ending the "economic blockade" of Japan may be somewhat elusive. Yet he and some six million fellow farmers are the basic factor in the Japanese economy, the point of departure for any discussion of the future. With industry and commerce at low ebb, Japan has at present primarily an agrarian economy, and any measures to be taken must be viewed against the backdrop of agrarian problems.

A brief comparison with the United States offers a graphic illustration of the nature and magnitude of these problems. Eighty million Japanese, a number more than half as large as the population of the United States, are compressed within the narrow confines of four small islands roughly equivalent in area to the state of Montana. And this does not tell the whole story. Rugged mountains cover 75 to 80 per cent of the islands, reducing the cultivated area to about fifteen million acres, which is only 4 per cent of the amount of arable land in the United States. It is easy to understand, therefore, why for the past two and a half years the themes of democratization and industrial recovery in Japan have been played against the relentless counterpoint of one food crisis after another.

Essentially, it was this dilemma which furnished Japanese militarists with their most powerful argument for aggression. The pressure of the people—there are now 3,100 for every square mile of cultivated land—has been building up for decades. From 1920 to 1940, the population jumped from 55,000,000 to 72,000,000. In the same period, the production of staple food crops remained almost unchanged. Inevitably, the food deficit grew steadily greater, in spite of increased imports from the colonies and conquered territories. Ironically enough, the Japanese had less to eat during the heyday of the co-prosperity sphere than in the early twenties, when population and agricultural production were more nearly balanced. Then, they had a diet of 2,240 calories a day, the highest level ever achieved in Japan; sixteen years later, they had less than 2,000 calories a day.

Defeat made matters infinitely worse. First, it isolated Japan from all former outside sources of supply: the most disastrous blow was the loss of Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria, which had furnished rice to the Japanese on their own terms and without benefit of foreign exchange. Second, it shut off the safety valve of emigration. Third, it brought, in a period of two and a half years, an influx of almost six million repatriates who had to be fed on home-grown food. With the entire Japanese population—still inexorably multiplying at the rate of more than one million a year—completely dependent on what the farmers can produce, supply has fallen so far short of the lowest requirements that American food, which has made up 55 per cent of all post-war imports, has spelled the difference between widespread starvation and a minimum subsistence diet. This has been particularly true in the case of the urban salaried and industrial workers, who receive a fixed ration of staple foods averaging 1,246 calories a day. At times—toward the end of the rice year in 1946, for example—fully one third of the Japanese ration was made up of American imports.

SINCE the beginning of the occupation, an all-out effort has been made to increase the indigenous supply of food and thus reduce the need for these imports. It has been uphill work, mainly owing to the acute shortage of chemical fertilizer. The black loam of Japanese rice paddies and upland fields is actually low in fertility, and the night soil which the farmers hoard so painstakingly is pitifully inadequate. Japan has always been dependent on the importation of phosphate rock and potassic salts for the manufacture of fertilizer. More

YOLE GRANADA has been with the occupation forces in Japan for twenty-seven months as a historian for the Natural Resources Division of SCAP. A critical comment on her article by Harold Strauss, chief editor of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and a former member of the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP, will appear in next week's issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than one and a half million tons of fertilizer have been imported from the United States since the surrender, but it has not been enough. Although agricultural production has climbed gradually since the end of the war—the food supply for this year is expected to be slightly better than last year's—it is still below pre-war levels. And even if the highest pre-war production were to be equaled, there would still not be enough to keep Japanese rice bowls filled.

It is now apparent, moreover, that the yield cannot be appreciably increased in the immediate future. Mechanization will not solve the problem, though the casual American observer of Japanese "primitive" methods and even many Japanese, impressed by American production techniques, think it might. With his back-breaking hand labor, intensive cultivation of every possible patch of land, and scrupulous frugality, the Japanese farmer is able to obtain crop yields which are among the highest in the world. He can do so, not only with rice, but with other grains: with wheat and barley, for instance, his methods give yields almost double those obtained in America with up-to-date farm machinery. Rigorous crop rotation to prevent further depletion of the soil would be desirable and might, in the long run, cut down to some degree the need for fertilizer, but Japanese farmers are loath to give up rice planting even for a short period, since rice gives the largest yield, has the highest caloric value, and is the traditional staff of life.

The outlook is a little brighter for increasing the amount of arable land, although most of the more productive agricultural areas are now under cultivation, and expansion will be progressively more difficult. As far back as the beginning of the Meiji era, the Japanese government was struggling with the problem of land reclamation. Some gains were made, but projects on the whole were too ambitious, badly planned, and inefficiently managed. Immediately after the surrender, a new reclamation program was started, after being extensively revised and scaled down to reasonable objectives by the occupation. This program calls for the conversion into farms of sizable tracts formerly used for military purposes and for the improvement of several million acres of submarginal lands. Its aim is to increase the cultivated acreage by about 25 per cent and to create about a million new farms. Its accomplishment, however, has been hampered by the lack of construction equipment and materials, and, even under the most favorable conditions, it is doubtful that it could be completed in less than ten years. And in ten years, Japan will have ninety million people.

The inescapable conclusion is that all plans for increasing yields or the amount of arable land, although vitally necessary, are at best only palliatives. They will not solve the food problem. The same judgment must be passed on any attempt to control the birth rate. Birth control on a national scale is one of the favorite subjects for debate in Japanese magazines today and among avant-garde intellectuals. The discussion, however, is always on a theoretical plane. No nation has ever made a concerted effort toward this end, and there is no actual basis for the belief that the growth of populations can be controlled by legislation. While education along these lines is particularly desirable in Japan, it can have no bearing on the stark realities of today.

Clearly, the Japanese face an equation which does not balance: their maximum production will never equal their need. Japanese agriculture can provide only about 80 per cent of the food the people require for their present low standard of living. Although Japan is not starving, thanks to American aid, the low nutrition level has been a factor in the decline of industrial efficiency, and if workers in factories and mines are to shoulder the burden of recovery, this level must be raised. That means greater imports of food in addition to all the industrial raw materials which Japan lacks. And unless American taxpayers are to foot the bill indefinitely—up to now, it totals $600,000,000 for foodstuffs alone—these imports will have to come, as they did before the war but in even greater quantities, from other countries in the Far East.

That there is little prospect at present of obtaining the amount needed is plain from the export schedules of the rice-surplus areas of Asia. Siam, which formerly exported 1,500,000 tons of rice, now plans to export only between 400,000 and 500,000 tons. Indo-China, which also used to export 1,500,000 tons, could spare little more than 40,000 tons in the first six months of 1948. Burma will have only half the 3,000,000 tons available for export before the war. All these countries reported, at a recent conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization, that they planned to increase their exportable surplus during the next three years, but estimates of the amounts that will be available in 1950 and of the reasonable requirements of the rice-eating peoples show a deficit of several million tons.

JAPAN'S ability to pay in foreign exchange when improved production methods in southeastern Asia bear fruit is the leit-motif of most of the proposals for the revival of Japanese industry advanced by economic experts. Japan's main assets are an abundant supply of cheap labor and an industrial plant, now idle, which would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

allow it to become, as Under Secretary of State Acheson suggested fully a year ago, "the workshop of Asia." Its chief hope is to be permitted to process the raw materials of richer Asiatic areas and to manufacture the export commodities required in increasing quantities by the Far East; these would pay for both the food and the industrial raw materials needed for home consumption.

As the workshop of Asia, Japan would be on the way toward solving not only the problems of foreign trade but also the more pressing economic and social problems caused by the overcrowding of rural areas. The industrial revolution came late to Japan, and there was no great shift of population from the country to urban centers until a decade before the war. Since the war, there has been a back-to-the-land movement. The repatriates and jobless have gravitated to the villages, and the farm youth who were formerly anxious to make a start in the cities now prefer to stay at home, where they are at least sure of their food. This tendency has been strengthened by the SCAP-inspired abolition of the laws of primogeniture—by which the younger sons enjoy equal property rights—and the land-reform program, which has improved the lot of the downtrodden tenant farmers.

But equal distribution of the land among the tillers of the soil, although socially desirable as a basic step toward democratization, does not pretend to be a long-term solution for the economic plight of the agrarian masses—two and a half acres, the average size of the holding the Japanese farmer will own, is hardly enough to support a family of five.

What is needed, it seems plain, is a degree of industrialization which will provide other means of livelihood for surplus farm labor and slowly depopulate the rural areas. In other words, there must be a true, if belated, industrial revolution, following a natural course of development and geared, not to the spurious requirements of a military machine, but to the economy of the Far East.

From Distress to Development

II. MR. SMITH GOES TO TEAM VALLEY

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

LET us suppose that the directors of Universal Gadgets, Inc., an American firm, decide that it would be profitable to open a British branch to supply their customers in Britain and the sterling area. Vice-President John Smith is, therefore, sent to London to look over the situation and see if he can find a suitable factory. His instructions are to rent premises, if possible, since the company does not want to make too large an investment until it has gained experience of production under British conditions and tested the market.

Mr. Smith has not been in Britain before and, seeking help in getting his bearings, he calls on the American Chamber of Commerce in London, which he finds in a charming eighteenth-century house close to the Savoy Hotel. Mr. D. L. Gill, the chamber's knowledgeable and courteous secretary, gives him a succinct review of economic conditions in Britain and explains some of the intricacies of government planning. Then he steers him to the Location Branch of the Board of Trade, which has offices close to the Houses of Parliament. The senior official to whom Mr. Smith talks wants to know, in the first place, what goods the company proposes to produce. Since factory buildings, labor, and most raw materials are all in short supply, he explains, the government is forced to give priority to new businesses that provide essential goods for the home market, or goods which will find a ready export sale, or both. It so happens that the particular gadget that Mr. Smith's firm plans to manufacture in Britain qualifies on both counts. It is a necessary tool, which is now being imported, for several British industries, and its production in the country will mean, therefore, a direct saving in dollars. In addition, it has considerable export potentialities.

Once these facts are established, the politeness of the Board of Trade official becomes positively enthusiastic, and he undertakes to do everything possible to facilitate Mr. Smith's mission. He inquires about the size and type of factory needed. How many workers will be required, and what kind? Male or female or both? Skilled or unskilled? What raw materials? What transport facilities?

Mr. Smith is now conducted to the Board's planning room, the walls of which are covered with maps and charts indicating labor supply in different parts of the country, communications, power facilities, location of industrial estates and surplus war plants, and so forth. He is shown large-scale maps of the development areas, pictures of industrial estates, and models of standard factories. After mastering the information available here, Mr. Smith can see for himself there are strong arguments for the choice of a development area for the location of his factory. Proximity to London may have its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attractions, but the problem of recruiting a labor force is likely to be formidable in southeastern England, where the unemployment rate is 1½ per cent, or in the Midlands, where it is a mere one-half per cent. By contrast, in northeastern England and Scotland, it averages 3 per cent, and in Wales, 5½ per cent. Mr. Smith, therefore, decides to explore these last three areas, and is sent off with the necessary introductions. His first stop is Newcastle-on-Tyne, where, at the local office of the Board of Trade, he is welcomed by the regional director and his staff, men who have a detailed knowledge of the area. They arrange an automobile tour for him so that he may get a general idea of the industrial facilities available and also see something of the amenities of the district—a point of interest to the company executives and technicians who may be sent over to start the factory.

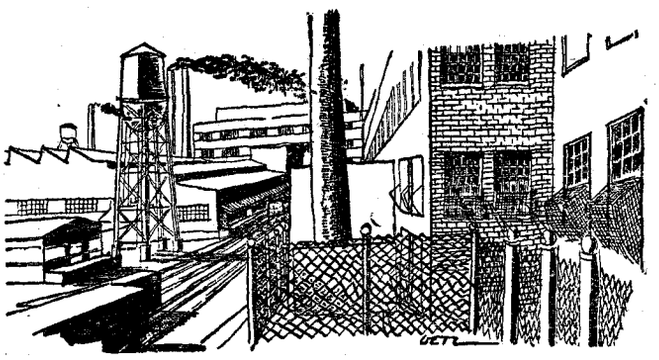
THE car swings over one of the high-level bridges which span the River Tyne, with its busy docks and shipyards, and enters the dingy borough of Gateshead, in County Durham. Mr. Smith shivers and thinks: "I wouldn't like to have my works right here." But in a few minutes, the monotonous rows of mean houses are left behind and he is driving along a fine two-lane highway divided by a culvert whose grill-work top is covered with rambler roses. On each side of the highway, divided from it by grass strips, run accommodation roads lined with modern factories. Most of them have well-designed office blocks in front, set off by gay borders of flowers. The contrast with the sprawling industrial area of old Tyneside is startling.

Mr. Smith is now in the Team Valley industrial estate, the first government-financed development of its kind and one of the handsomest. From Mr. M. D. Methven, General Manager of North Eastern Trading Estates, Ltd., which operates the property for the Board of Trade, he learns that, eleven years ago, Team Valley was a tract of swampy derelict land, and hears the saga of its transformation. He is told some of the "success stories" it has helped to foster, stories of firms which started out in very small premises and for whom the estate company has built one extension after another. Before the inception of Team Valley, Mr. Methven explains, there was practically no light industry in Tyneside, which was wholly dependent on coal, steel, heavy engineering, and shipbuilding. There was almost no industrial employment for women and when, in the early thirties, Palmer's shipyard in neighboring Jarrow was shut down and dismantled, a whole town was forced onto relief. The new industries offer a wider variety of employment, but they are not intended to supplant the basic trades—still Tyneside's economic backbone—merely to supplement them.

From the administration building, where he has been talking to Mr. Methven, Mr. Smith is taken on a tour of the estate and shown different types and sizes of factories. He finds they house a wide range of industries—textiles and clothing, scientific glassware, electrical components, coal-mining machinery, industrial pumps, cardboard boxes, to mention only a few. There is at least one firm of American origin—an English affiliate of the Armstrong Cork Company, producing asphalt tiles.

Mr. Smith is naturally interested in the facilities available to tenants of the estate. He learns that power, gas, and water are laid on by the managing company, which also attends to the disposal of industrial refuse. In the administration block, he notices that there is a post office and branch offices of several banks. He is shown one of the three canteens situated in different parts of the estate so as to be handy for employees of all the smaller factories; the larger ones have their own on their premises. Finally, Mr. Smith, who by this time is a little exhausted and in need of a drink, is taken to lunch at the well-appointed executives' club in the administration block.

Rather to Mr. Smith's surprise, he is informed that Team Valley is practically built up to its limit, allowing for some future extensions to existing plants, for he has noticed that there is a good deal of vacant land on the estate. It will be left that way, his guide says. Plans provide for one-third of the whole space to be covered



by buildings while another third is taken up by roads, loading yards and so on. The balance is devoted to playing fields, groves of trees, and gardens that afford "green lungs" and pleasant vistas for the factory workers.

Unless some tenant who has signed up for one of the few uncompleted factories pulls out, Mr. Smith is not likely to find accommodation at Team Valley. But there are several other similar estates in the area where space is available. There is, for instance, the Bede Trading Estate at Jarrow, nearer the mouth of the Tyne, where Abbott Laboratories, well-known American makers of pharmaceutical drugs, now have a plant; or Aycliffe, in the southern part of County Durham, a wartime Royal ordnance factory, spread over a huge area, that is being converted to house a large number of firms, including a branch of the Eaton Manufacturing Company of Cleveland.

Mr. Smith devotes another day or two to seeing more of the North Eastern region and notes several suitable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

locations. But before reaching a final decision, he wants to have a look at the Scottish and Welsh areas, both of which have a number of fairly similar industrial estates and a variety of individual sites. He also promises himself a little relaxation and sightseeing of a different kind. That won't be difficult to combine with business: Loch Lomond, for instance, is only a few miles from the Vale of Leven Estate, which lies sixteen miles northwest of Glasgow. He has, however, quite a long journey ahead, and we will not attempt to accompany him all the way. But it is worth while considering some of the questions he will be putting to his guides.

FIRST of all, of course, he will want to know on what terms he can rent a factory from one of the estate companies. The standard lease is for a twenty-one-year term, with options to cancel at seven and fourteen years. Rentals for the first three-to-five years are based on 1939 values for similar property in the district: after this preliminary period, they may be re-assessed on the basis of current values at the option of either party. In effect, the British Treasury is shouldering for some years the very considerable difference between 1939 and 1948 building costs. This is a subsidy designed to give business firms an incentive to settle in the development areas. From the point of view of the national economy, however, it is a very worthwhile investment. If new industries were not attracted to the development areas, the unemployed there would either have to go on relief or migrate to districts in which new factories were being built, where they would have to be provided with houses, water, power, sewage works, schools, and other facilities. Meanwhile, the capital invested in such services in the development areas, which would once more become declining areas, would be yielding less than its full social return.

Another justification for the rent subsidy is that it serves to offset some higher costs which some industries are likely to incur by starting plants in districts which have no tradition of ordinary factory labor. Many firms have found that they must bring in key workers from outside and organize training courses before they can begin operations. This is a matter that interests Mr. Smith a great deal. "Do such workers prove easily trainable?" he inquires. "How do ex-miners settle down to working on a factory production line?" His official guides suggest that he put these questions to factory managers he meets during his tour.

If he shares my recent experience in northeast England, Scotland, and Wales, he will find the answers very reassuring. I was told many times that executives coming into these districts had been surprised by the quality of the labor available. The men and women they engaged were quick to learn and proved steady workers. Outside Merthyr Tydvil, in South Wales, I visited a plant operated by the British affiliate of the Hoover Company, which was making a new line of small washing machines. Work had started only a few months before, and some equipment had still to be installed: nevertheless, output was 50 per cent ahead of schedule. Such results may be attributed, in part, to the enlightened labor policies followed by the company, but they show also that there is nothing wrong with the quality of Welsh men and women workers (the factory employs both).

MR. SMITH is a smart businessman: he knows a good thing when he sees it and we can assume that he will do his best to rent one of the government-owned factories in a development area. But Mr. Smith is also conservative in his economic and political thinking, a staunch upholder of private enterprise, and the idea of government intervention and investment with the object of securing a planned distribution of industry and population worries him. He remembers that not a few American cities have offered free sites, remission of taxes, and other advantages intended to attract new industries, but that is just a variety of competition. When this sort of thing is done on a national scale and involves an element of pressure—a British firm which wants to erect a factory outside a development area and fails to produce cogent reasons for so doing is likely to be denied a building license—doesn't it involve a dangerous degree of interference with free enterprise? And, thinks Mr. Smith, remembering Economics 1, isn't the most fruitful distribution of industry likely to result when the businessman is entirely free to choose his location guided only by considerations of profit?

I will leave Mr. Smith to puzzle this out for himself, but I would like to suggest that it would be beneficial if more of our Mr. Smiths went to Britain and studied this question of the development areas. A time may well come when we will find British experience and experiments useful. We have, in the past, frequently been faced with the problem of communities left stranded by the removal of the industry on which they depended, and we have usually dealt with it by turning our backs and letting such communities die. But in the next decade or two, we may find ourselves facing this problem on a much larger scale than ever before. There are indications that, in the years ahead, the whole center of gravity of the steel industry may, for sound economic reasons, shift away from the Great Lakes region. What is going to happen, then, to large areas in Pennsylvania and Ohio dependent on steel? Are they to be allowed to decay while their inhabitants slowly drift elsewhere? Is the social capital invested in them to be dissipated? Or are we to seek to save these communities by planned efforts to bring new industries to the workers? These, I submit, are questions which far-sighted Americans would do well to ponder.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Racial Aloha" in Hawaii

BY RALPH S. KUYKENDALL AND A. GROVE DAY

Honolulu, T. H., August 7

FIFTY years ago this week, on August 12, 1898, the Republic of Hawaii transferred its sovereignty to the United States. Now, after half a century, the Territory of Hawaii is close to realizing the statehood for which its people have been petitioning Congress for forty-five years. Over this stretch, Hawaii's qualifications have repeatedly been examined by Congressional committees—five times since 1935. The most recent hearings, headed by Senator Guy Cordon (Rep., Ore.) and held early this year, resulted in a 500-page report which concluded:

> Hawaii has met the requirements for statehood. It is the chairman's opinion that the Territory has served a satisfactory pupilage in the limited self-government permitted by the Organic Act. It is able and ready to accept the social, political, and economic responsibilities of state government as well as the advantages.

A bill to grant statehood was passed by the House of Representatives but failed to reach the floor of the Senate before the spring adjournment. Another investigation has been announced to begin in Honolulu November 23.

Advocates of statehood meet the fears of those who may feel that "sinister" racial elements in the islands might somehow work against American ideals, by pointing out that Hawaii has actually given the world a remarkable example of how the problems of inter-racial democracy can peacefully be solved. Lynchings and race riots are unknown in the islands. A resident's ancestry is often referred to here, but seldom derogatorily. Islanders are proud of their democratic spirit and have given it an indigenous name: "racial aloha."

Half a million American citizens of many racial stocks are living today in the Hawaiian Islands. The largest group is the "white" Caucasian—32.9 per cent of the population. The other main strains are: Hawaiian, 2 per cent; part-Hawaiian, 12.8 per cent; Puerto Rican, 1.8 per cent; Chinese, 5.8 per cent; Japanese, 32.7 per cent; Korean, 1.4 per cent; Philippine, 10.3 per cent; all others, 0.3 per cent. The combinations and permutations of the seven main stocks make discrimination almost impossible.

RALPH S. KUYKENDALL and A. GROVE DAY are members of the faculty of the University of Hawaii. They are co-authors of "Hawaii: A History," which will be published by Prentice-Hall in November.

THE islands were discovered about the fourth century A.D. by Polynesians who had voyaged eastward over the Pacific in big double canoes. Later migrations came from central Polynesia. The peaceful natives had remained completely isolated for many centuries when Captain James Cook's discovery, in 1778, brought them to the attention of the outside world. A few years later, Kamehameha the Great united all islands in the group and set up a Polynesian kingdom which lasted almost a hundred years. During that century, the government became progressively more receptive to ideas from abroad—particularly American ideas. By 1818, nearly 200 foreigners were living there.

Early in the nineteenth century, foreign trade was introduced; missionaries began arriving in 1820. Agricultural techniques improved, especially the growing of sugar cane. The native population, however, due principally to diseases introduced by the "white" man's civilization, dropped from an estimated 300,000 in 1778 to 70,000 by 1853. This decline, together with the Hawaiian's natural dislike for difficult field work, led to the importation by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society of 300 Chinese laborers in 1852-53. They were followed by a steady stream of immigrant workers from various lands: Polynesians from other Pacific islands and thousands of Chinese, Portuguese, Germans, Scandinavians, and Japanese. Many returned to their homelands when their contracts expired; many others remained to establish homes.

When, in 1875, a reciprocal trade treaty with the United States made it possible for sugar, rice, and many other island products to be sent to the American market duty free, the need for still more plantation labor became acute. From 1886 to 1907 (when a "gentleman's agreement" put an end to male Japanese immigration), several thousand Japanese arrived each year.

The Territory of Hawaii was formally organized in 1900. About 40 per cent of its population of 154,000 were Japanese; about 25 per cent were Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian; about 17 per cent were Chinese; and about 12 per cent were Portuguese. Few mainland Americans were willing to homestead in the islands and, in an effort to procure non-Oriental farmers, some 12,000 settlers from Spain and Portugal were brought in between 1906 and 1913. Many of them did not stay, but those who did imported several thousand Puerto Ricans to work their plantations. From 1900 to 1910, about 2,000 Koreans immigrated to the islands, most of them remaining. A few Philippine families were brought to the islands

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1906, and since then the Philippines have supplied large numbers of laborers. In recent years, the Caucasian, or *haole,* group has grown more rapidly than any other. Many who came to visit stayed to live, attracted by the beauty of the islands and their booming business and industry. This flow of mainlanders to the islands, appreciable enough before World War II, has since increased, and today the "white" group is the largest of all.

CONSIDERING its polyracial history, one would expect Hawaii to be a hotbed of antagonism. Yet all recent studies by sociologists and Congressional committees have agreed that Hawaii is, in all essential respects, a peaceful, democratic American community. Among other things, the behavior of its people in two world wars has proved that Orientals and natives with Polynesian ancestry can become, and have become, useful and loyal American citizens.

Hawaiian aspirations have become progressively more American. The main goal of the revolution of 1893, which overthrew the kingdom, was to achieve annexation by the United States. As long ago as 1864, President Lincoln wrote of Hawaii: "Its people are free, and its laws, language, and religion are largely the fruit of our teaching and example." New England missionaries helped found the educational system that has been a powerful influence for democracy. English was the language of instruction in the public schools which opened almost a century ago. "Illiteracy in the islands among native-born citizens," reported a Congressional sub-committee in 1946, "is almost non-existent. Hawaii has well-equipped schools throughout the Territory. . . . The standards of instruction, according to the United States Chamber of Commerce, are the same as on the mainland and higher than those in many states."

The American pattern predominates in politics, religion, business, industry, and social life. Fourteen newspapers and thirteen periodicals are published in the islands. Americanization programs have been fostered by the Christian churches, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, fraternal groups, and clubs of many kinds. Fair play has been encouraged, especially in sports. The result has been that most immigrants, quick to take the opportunities offered, have bettered their status through education, and their children and grandchildren are as thoroughly American as are the descendants of European immigrants in the United States. Young Hawaii, in fact, looks upon the "old country" and its ancient customs with boredom and disdain.

The ethnic salvation of Hawaii has been the fact that there has been no single line of racial predominance. If one wished to "draw the line," where would he start? Leading members of the community may have as many as four or five ancestral strains. To have the blood of ancient Hawaii in one's veins, by the way, is a social asset here. And blood strains are becoming increasingly mixed as time goes on. Almost 40 per cent of recent Hawaiian marriages have been inter-racial; intermixture was greatly accelerated during World War II. A new, still more cosmopolitan amalgam is in the making.

There is an enormous native pride in Hawaii's war record. Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, there was much fear that the Japanese element—the largest immigrant group and the last to be assimilated—could not be trusted in a war against Japan. These fears were soon put to rest. The "AJA's" (Americans of Japanese ancestry), like other groups in Hawaii, were good American patriots. Robert L. Shivers, FBI agent assigned to Honolulu during the war, testified that not one single act of sabotage or fifth-column activity was committed in Hawaii before, during, or after the Pearl Harbor bombing. The heroic record of the Nisei soldiers in the One Hundredth Infantry Battalion during the Italian campaign, and the loyal services of Hawaiian Japanese interpreters, from Corregidor to Tokyo, won the admiration of America. A final count of Hawaii's war casualties shows that 80 per cent of those killed and 88 per cent of the wounded were of Japanese descent. The chief effect of the war on the Japanese group was to bring them closely into the life of the community. Fears that they might vote as a racial bloc were likewise proved unfounded. The 1946 Congressional report states: "Such evidence of 'bloc voting' as exists among Americans of Japanese ancestry is not likely to assume serious proportions, because they, like other peoples, are divided among themselves by political, social, and economic differences." Political allegiance in Hawaii today is fairly equally divided between the Democrats and the Republicans.

THE historical tradition of Hawaiian hospitality, which goes back to the earliest times, still prevails. The spirit of tolerance, the "aloha spirit," is a community goal. Inciters of racial antagonism are speedily and firmly rebuked. To reveal racial prejudice in Hawaii is to commit political suicide.

Naturally, the inter-racial picture in Hawaii is smudged with some dark colors. Paternalism and discrimination have occasionally marred the record. Prejudice does exist, here as elsewhere. There is some grumbling and muttering. The point is, though, that the spirit of "racial aloha" works so well that the mutter never becomes a shriek.

When Hawaii becomes the forty-ninth state, and a bastion of American strength in the Pacific, the world will recognize that polyracism need not be a barrier to the achievement of full Americanism. According to Senator Cordon, "As a nation, the United States, by granting statehood to Hawaii at this juncture of history, could demonstrate to the world that it means what it says and practices what it urges when advocating true democracy for all peoples."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lost Cause, 1948

BY ROWENA W. TOBIAS

Charleston, S. C., August 4

WHILE the Dixiecrat fireworks fizzled through the headlines, the South's last-ditch abortive battle to preserve a one-party, one-color political system has been lost in Charleston's Federal District Court. The last citadel of "white-only" voting has been breached by federal fiat, a far more significant fact in changing the pattern of Southern politics than all the shenanigans of Thurmond, Wright, Laney, and company. Judge J. Waites Waring, in ruling, on July 16, that Negroes must be allowed to enrol and vote in Democratic Party primaries in South Carolina, and that no qualifying oath of opposition to the "so-called FEPC law" may be required of them, has closed the last legal loophole against Negro participation in Southern politics. In the first week that the party books were opened to Negroes, over 4,300 of them enroled in Charleston County alone.

South Carolina has been the test case. This is the state which has gone furthest in seeking legal stratagems to keep Negroes out of party affairs. After the Supreme Court decision giving Lonnie E. Smith, a Negro, the right to vote in the Texas primaries of 1944, leaders of the South Carolina Democratic Party decided to erase all statutes concerning primaries from the state code and adopt the line that the party here is a private club holding private nominations. Waring's decision slashes away this technical interpretation and returns to the heart of the matter—that primaries are a part of the election machinery and, in South Carolina, the only effective and meaningful election. He has invited South Carolina "to rejoin the Union" in these words: "It is time to . . . adopt the American way of conducting elections."

Other Southern states have carefully observed developments in South Carolina. Georgia's last primaries were open to Negroes, Alabama's new qualifications apply equal treatment to white and Negro, and Mississippi's policy of intimidation of Negroes has not been altogether successful. South Carolina remained the last state with a "pure" white primary, and if its politicians had won, the rest of the South would quickly have followed the battle-plan laid down here. An interesting parallel can be drawn between the present era and the days preceding the Civil War, when South Carolina also gave active and ideological leadership to a lost Southern cause.

ROWENA W. TOBIAS, a veteran newspaperwoman in Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., is the author of "Charleston Murders," recently published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

The personalities involved heighten the basic drama of the story. In spite of Southern howls about "outside interference," the decisive blow against white supremacy has been delivered by a native son of Charleston. Judge Waring is the scion of an old and conservative family, and a former leader in South Carolina machine politics. His inside knowledge of party tactics, in fact, has enabled him to circumvent all the twists and turns of the political leaders. His new status as a social outcast and almost a "lunatic" has, it is true, contributed some bitterness to his clashes with lawyers who appear in his court on day-to-day matters, but it has not deterred him in his adherence to Constitutional principles.

Robert McC. Figg, a lawyer with a brilliant record as prosecutor, originated the idea of removing the primary laws from the state code. He also acts as an advisor to the party and to South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the fair-haired boy of the Dixiecrats. Figg, who does not come from an old-line Southern family, could be compared to John C. Calhoun, defending a doomed class and tradition and often recognizing the inadequacies of the men and events for which he serves as apologist. But his public allegiance to "states' rights" is unswerving.

The Governor, fairly young and fairly liberal, for the South, is also an important figure in this historic moment His ambitions and his inclination for personal publicity have catapulted him into the front of the white-supremacy armies (just as they got him into *Life*, standing on his head), but his battalions, whether or not he realizes it, are fighting for control over what remains of a wrecked Democratic Party, and not for the Presidency. Since even this limited campaign seems like another lost cause, Thurmond's leadership here may cost him the Senatorial seat that he had hoped to win in 1950. One observer at a recent meeting of the Dixiecrats in Jackson, Miss., summed up the movement by citing Jim Watson's comment on the 1920 Republican convention that nominated Harding: "There I stood, knee-deep in midgets."

While the hotheads hare off after the Dixiecrats, most local politicians are still trying to decide what course to follow. Some adopt the plan of W. W. Ball, the irascible and autocratic editor of the Charleston *News and Courier*, who wants to abolish primaries altogether and nominate, in aristocratic conventions, "men of property." Others hope to establish new qualifications for voting in the national elections that may nullify most of the potential Negro ballots. Still others look forward with genuine relief to a two-color, two-party system which will break the Solid South and return it to national prestige and participation in both major parties. Now, they believe, all Southerners who are actually Republican in economic and social principle will find it respectable to join the G. O. P. Thus, in the end, a free ballot for Negroes may mean a free ballot for white Southerners.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Conservative Crusader

WASHINGTON WITCH-HUNT. By Bert Andrews. Random House. $2.50.

NOT long ago, Westbrook Pegler chose the New York *Herald-Tribune* as the target of one of his most petulant crusades. His thesis was that subversion had reared its reddish head inside this venerable journalistic institution, once again exploiting the hopeless innocence of American capitalism. Pegler was aroused by many unorthodoxies in the *Tribune's* personality, but he seemed especially pained by its irreverence toward the House Un-American Activities Committee and its fiery civil libertarianism on a wide front. Bert Andrews, chief of the *Tribune's* Washington bureau, was undoubtedly responsible for much of Pegler's distemper. Yet Pegler was never able to get the goods on Andrews—which must have been particularly aggravating; in fact, Andrews must have baffled Pegler almost as much as he bewilders the *Pravda* analysts who long ago revealed that Washington correspondents are in steady communication with their Wall Street masters.

The story of Andrews is almost as meaningful as some of the case histories he recites in this volume. He is an acknowledged, practicing conservative. He has never been accused of any major New Deal heresies. He is also an able, imaginative newspaperman with an uncomplicated belief in traditional American values. Thus, he was brought up to believe that a man is innocent until his guilt is established. He has always assumed that an American (even one who works for the government) is entitled to learn the charges against him before he is abruptly "red-listed" and his earning power destroyed. In broader terms, Andrews is convinced that Communist ideas can be most effectively whipped in the market-place of opinion.

With this equipment, he found himself suddenly transformed last year from a soft-voiced political reporter into a crusader for civil liberty. It was the case of "Mr. Blank" that produced this result. "Mr. Blank," as most Americans know by now, is the celebrated anonymity who—along with nine other unnamed persons—was peremptorily fired from the State Department as a "security risk," without being given any hint as to the circumstances of his fall from grace.

This book is largely an elaboration of the memorable dispatches that Andrews wrote for the *Herald-Tribune* in connection with l'affaire Blank and other "loyalty" controversies. He reviews the gory details of the State Department's performance, climaxed by a wonderful Washington irony—the attempted Congressional crucifixion of Hamilton Robinson, the State Department's former security officer and grand inquisitor. Robinson (now resigned) handled the dismissals of Mr. Blank and company. One of the most dramatic passages in this volume is the bleak transcript of Blank's final interview with Robinson, in which the victimized employee begged for some clue to the nature of the charges against him; Robinson coldly told him to search his own memory. The scene is worthy of Koestler's treatment. And it was Robinson who, several months later, was hauled up to Capitol Hill following the disclosure that one of his second cousins was suspected of Communist activity. His first plea, of course, was for a full statement of any evidence linking him with his sinister relative.

LARGELY because of Andrews and others like him in the press and radio corps, the State Department purge had a relatively happy ending. After many weeks of pressure, the Department retreated to a previously unprepared position. It permitted the accused to resign "without prejudice." Mr. Blank finally found new employment after a nightmare of run-around and rejection. And the episode had a sobering effect on a lot of Washington administrators.

In the present setting, Andrews's chapters on the Condon case and the Hollywood probe may be his timeliest words. It is increasingly apparent that Washington's oppressive intellectual climate is created by the heat-waves from Congress rather than the government "loyalty" inquiry. As a matter of fact, the investigations of government personnel have chiefly established the integrity of the overwhelming majority of federal workers and debunked the alarmist outcries of the G. O. P. The inquiries have apparently been conducted with fairness and restraint, and even those agencies—like the State Department—which are not subject to the scrutiny of the Loyalty Review Board have shown increasing concern for procedural safeguards. But this moderation has apparently raised the fever of the know-nothing cabal in Congress.

Andrews leaves little doubt of his lack of respect for the methods and motives of the Thomas committee. The smear-and-run technique of the House group is dramatically illustrated in the stories he retells. Writing under the pressure of a publishing deadline, he has inevitably left many questions unanswered. The great questions involve the scope and limitations of the Congressional investigating committee. The business of exposure of secret political societies is a legitimate weapon of democratic self-defense. Few liberals would rise in protest against a systematic Congressional study of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan; and anyone who has read the report of the Canadian Spy Commission will pause before dismissing as total fantasy the current testimony on underground Communist operations during World War II. The crucial problem is to formulate procedures which prevent reckless and ruthless character-assassination and assure real protection for the innocent. It may well be, for example, that the immunity from libel afforded witnesses before Congressional committees has become an intolerable invitation to slander.

The Thomas committee (and its predecessors) have proved beyond dispute the need for drastic reform. Among other services he has rendered, Bert Andrews has underlined the same point. He has also given a lot of newspapermen a renewed pride in their frequently abused profession.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Giant Task

FROM THE LEAGUE TO U. N. By Gilbert Murray. Oxford University Press. $4.50.

IT IS one of the paradoxes of English society that one of its great fighters for world peace is a mild-mannered classical scholar from the cloistered retreats of Oxford. At eighty-two Gilbert Murray is still a fighter, bloodied in his long battle to make the League the dominant force in world affairs, unbowed as he looks forward to the tasks that face the United Nations. We should be grateful to the Oxford University Press for deciding to bring together in one collection nine of his lectures delivered between 1934 and 1946.

They constitute a remarkable testament of a man who never allowed his idealism to blind him to the brute realities of the struggle for power or to restrain him from bitter censure of those men and nations who betrayed the peace. In an introductory chapter he confesses his own mistakes in counting on the League's success. He "underestimated the increased violence of nationalist passions"; he "overrated the military value of a combination of allies, most of them of second- or third-rate military resources, as against one highly organized great power; he failed to convince his own countrymen of the value of cooperation among the intellectual leaders of all nations in contributing to the creation of a world mind.

These lectures provide a remarkably acute analysis of the process in which the comfortable Cosmos of the nineteenth century was dissolved by the corrosive acids—political, economic, moral—of the twentieth. The Cult of Violence, written in 1933, has an alarming relevance for today. Its concluding sentence is: "We can only conquer Bolshevism by making the mass of men happier than the Bolsheviks make them; we can only conquer despotism by showing that free men live a nobler life than slaves." Constantly he returns to the theme of nationalism and the traditional diplomatists who "resented the intrusion of moral ideas into politics." As early as June, 1945, he underscores the dangers implicit in the Security Council veto and anticipated the cold war that would inevitably develop between Russia and the Western democracies. And in his last lecture, delivered in October, 1946, several months before Secretary Marshall's lecture at Harvard, he says: "There is one supreme task now incumbent upon the Western World and most of all upon Britain. It is to repair the damages of war, particularly in Europe."

His chapters on the United Nations are valuable contributions to an understanding of the giant tasks, the obstacles, and the possibilities inherent in this second effort to build world peace.

J. KING GORDON

An Adult Stevenson

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. By David Daiches. New Directions. $2.

ONE curious result of the revolt against Victorianism is that English literature between 1880 and 1914 has suffered far more casualties than the main body of Victorian literature. Thackeray and Trollope, Browning and even Tennyson have come through, but the attacks of Frank Swinnerton, Virginia Woolf, and John Middleton Murry on the gradualists of the late Victorian confusion have become the more or less standard criticism.

David Daiches's "Robert Louis Stevenson" comes at a strategic moment to nail down the revived but uneasy interest in Stevenson. The book will hardly encourage publishers to rush out a new complete works, however, for it neither minimizes the weaknesses that killed Stevenson off nor prescribes a dose of romance for whatever makes us nervous. Mr. Daiches is as aware as anyone else that romance is romance, but he is interested in levels of value within the genre and in the qualities Stevenson adds to the basic ingredient. As readers of his "Virginia Woolf" (an earlier volume in the same series) will expect, he brings to the novels a tight structural and textural criticism combined with an unobtrusive but steady evaluation. The result restores Stevenson's honest achievement with-

"A triumph of narrative genius, character insight, and human understanding." —THOMAS SUGRUE, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

"An extremely moving and daring love story." —MILTON MERLIN, *Los Angeles Times*

"An exciting and intensely moving story, the finest that Greene has written." —*The Atlantic Monthly*

"A brilliant performance in the art of novel-writing." —ROGER PIPPETT, *N. Y. Star*

GRAHAM GREENE

The HEART OF THE MATTER

Book-of-the-Month Club Selection

THE VIKING PRESS *At all booksellers* $3.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out offering comfort to any surviving remnant of the compact majority.

Mr. Daiches does this by rescuing Stevenson from the special category of a "teller of tales" and examining his work by the standards of adult literature. The honest achievement is largely in the novels. Rereading "Travels with a Donkey," "Virginibus Puerisque," and "A Child's Garden of Verses" is a daunting prospect, and such a Ph. D. regimen, Mr. Daiches implies, will still not be rewarding. The essays remain precious and sermonizing, the poems of interest to biographers. Even the stories, which Swinnerton was inclined to spare, are important merely as the purest samples available of what Stevenson meant by "romance"—adventure mixed with an optimistic morality.

The novels have value in direct proportion to Stevenson's progress in adding context and human situation to this simple blend. "Treasure Island" is pure adventure, differing from the pulps only in a high finish and neat patterning, a picturesque setting, and an inconspicuous and fallible hero. In "Kidnapped," adventure mixes with psychology, history, topography, and autobiography, with history and topography dominant. "The Master of Ballantrae" is a transitional novel, in which, though the wild plot spoils the tragic effect, history becomes a background for the psychological situation rather than a pretext for romance or region. And in the unfinished "Weir of Hermiston," written a decade and more before "The Way of All Flesh" and "Clayhanger," character and the father-conflict inherent in the Victorian social code completely dominate contrivance, and history and topography illuminate character. The development is not an unbroken one. There are lapses like the self-projection of "David Balfour." But Mr. Daiches traces a visible progression. The chapter on "Weir of Hermiston"— with its tragic atmosphere, realistic style, objective characterization, and integrated love story—is the core of the book.

Mr. Daiches resorts to biographical criticism only occasionally, and then to explain rather than to justify. He sees the adjustment of the bohemian to middle class standards as determining the quality, though not the value, of Stevenson's work. He avoids the tuberculosis cliché and emphasizes the effect on Stevenson's later novels of long conflict between father and son, and the break-up of the early affair with Kate Drummond, the Highland blacksmith's daughter.

American readers are likely to be more reserved than Mr. Daiches in admiration for Stevenson's Scottish topography. But granting a Scotsman's special qualification for entering sympathetically into this refined form of patriotism, a rereading of "Weir of Hermiston" shows a blend of atmosphere and character that is surprisingly impressive. The sharp deviation from Stevenson's previous work suggests the interaction of character and historic setting in Hardy.

Mr. Daiches's earlier books showed the rather unusual combination of discipline with an independence from prevailing critical mores. His disparagement of literary reference in "The Wasteland" anticipated the newer poets' recoil from the "Brihadaranyaka." At a time when the dual standard seemed to many less consistent than it does now, he defended Conrad against the charge of sociological irrelevance while rescuing Galsworthy from the opposite charge of propagandizing. Again, in "Stevenson," he has the courage to apply literary standards to a genre suffering most from its own well-wishers.

JAMES HALL

Tales of Arthur Machen

TALES OF HORROR AND THE SUPERNATURAL. By Arthur Machen. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.95.

IT IS doubtful whether this collection of the best—so long out of print—of Arthur Machen's excursions into the horrible and the supernatural will revive any widespread interest in a fine but unsatisfying writer. The twenty-five years since the last of these tales was written have taken the edge off the particular sense of evil with which he was concerned. What one remembers after reading is what one remembers from long ago: the magnificent feeling for lonely and forbidding places, the scenes of ancient evil; the preoccupation with the sinister world which for Machen lay always under the daily surface; the dimness of characterization; and the long-drawn-out unclimactic climaxes of horror seen through a glass darkly. The failure here is that of most such tales: the atmosphere is always more convincing than anything that happens. The secret places visited by the bewitched child in The White People are unforgettable, and so are the Welsh countryside in The Terror and the mounting horror of The Great God Pan, but one forgets what finally comes of all this. In purely rational writers such as Mrs. Radcliffe, also a master of atmosphere, these matters are likely to be better managed; there is the horrible and then there is a commonplace explanation. Although the art is impure, it has a kind of coherence. But Machen, abominating nineteenth-century science and twentieth-century psychoanalysis, believed in the Celtic occult, which in its very nature is not capable of rational explanation; so his dénouements are vague just where they should be clear. One wants to know about the evil which lies under the surface, and the atmosphere does not compensate for his failure to explain the inexplicable.

ERNEST JONES

The Dynamics of Parties

THE DISRUPTION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By Roy Franklin Nichols. The Macmillan Company. $7.50.

LINCOLN AND THE WAR GOVERNORS. By William B. Hesseltine. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50

THE state of major political parties has always been an index of crises in American history. These two scholarly monographs are reminders that the condition of the parties has more than symptomatic significance, that far from being cash registers which merely ring up the accounts of economic interests, the parties are independent social forces of capital importance.

Modern parties have permanent salaried professional organizations working under the direction of a *national* chairman. Before the Civil War such centralizing agencies were lacking; the relative decentralization in the structure of the federal government and in popular sentiment was paralleled by decentralization in the major parties. The Democratic Party, which was dominant from 1829 to 1861, was not so much a national organization as a federation of state machines. Professor Nichols's book traces the disruption of that fed-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eration and the consequent disruption of the Union. Professor Hesseltine's is a study of Lincoln's achievement during the war in welding the Republican state machines into a firm and stable national agency. The Civil War emerges as a total victory of national centralization embracing the parties as well as the government.

Both authors have heavily emphasized intelligent statecraft. Professor Nichols concludes that "poverty-stricken" statesmanship was at fault in the disruption of the Democratic Party. Explaining President Buchanan's failure at a crucial point to adopt a proposal that might have led to party unity, he comments that "he lacked the intelligence to heed this sound advice." Professor Hesseltine makes intelligence still more central: "Lincoln's victory over the governors was the triumph of a superior intellect. . . . The victory of nationalism over localism, of centralization over states' rights, was, in the last analysis, a victory of a keener intellect over men of lesser minds."

If the collapse of the Democratic Party is to be viewed as a failure of intelligence and the rise of the Republican Party as a triumph of intelligence, and if this canon of historical explanation is to be adopted by other historians and extended to other successes and failures, I think it is clear how little any political history would illuminate. The coming of the depression in 1929 could be, for example, a result of the failure of intelligence among Republican leaders; the political successes of the New Deal would be the victory of a keener intellect over lesser ones. We would now be in the midst of another Democratic failure of intelligence. And so on.

I do not wish to do an injustice to these two substantial and valuable books, but merely to expose the implications of a kind of historical thinking to which they occasionally succumb. I doubt whether the intelligence of political leaders is one of the more significant variables by which our political fortunes can be explained. Both authors, in fact, have reviewed several other causes which have much more explanatory value. Professor Nichols has done a particularly good job, employing massive research to unravel the multiple factors behind the split in the Democratic Party which helped to give Lincoln the victory in 1860.

In the 1850's a political crisis and an economic collapse struck the country simultaneously. Business enterprise developed so rapidly that political issues were forced to a head before political leaders could prepare to handle them. Politics was too often infused with the feverish spirit of speculation and promotion as well as with the rawness and ready violence of the frontier. As the Democratic Party, once an instrument through which the democratic impulses of the people could be expressed, fell into the hands of militant Southerners whose aims were incompatible with majority opinion, it became an instrument for choking democracy. It became, in particular, the agent of a futile attempt to stem the tide of free labor by carrying slavery into territories where all the facts of geography, climate, and social mobility were against it. The backward condition of the South set a premium upon hotheaded and irresponsible leadership, while the encrusted conservatism of the Northeastern wing of the party led to passivity and ineptness. Local leaders were incapable of taking a sufficiently inclusive view of national developments to formulate a workable program. The Civil War "was the product of the chaotic lack of system in ascertaining and directing the public will, a chaos exploited with little regard for the welfare of the general public by irresponsible and blind operators of local political machinery unchecked by any adequate central organization."

Lincoln, according to Professor Hesseltine, supplied such an adequate central organization at the cost of a running battle with the Northern war governors over troops, supplies, and the control of policy. It is easy to accept Professor Hesseltine's conclusion that Lincoln's was the commanding intelligence in the North and that as political craftsmen the governors were no match for him. But it is also true that carrying on a major war demands central organization and leadership and that a President who brings his party into power for the first time in its history has an instrument of unusual power in the federal patronage. Lincoln had three main sources of strength—the army, the patronage, and the people—and he used them all well. Being somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum he probably stood as close as anyone to the average sentiment of the popular mind in deciding policy on such controversial matters as emancipation. Professor Hesseltine is with Lincoln all the way—which is always a safe position for the historian. I doubt that it is necessary, however, in appreciating Lincoln's statecraft, to be so severe with what Professor Hesseltine calls "the humanitarian gabble" of the radicals or to stigmatize the Abolitionists' motive as a "drive to pervert the war from its original purpose of preserving the Union to a crusade for freeing the slaves and confiscating Southern property." It is true that the Abolitionists had their limitations of vision; but so long as academic historians have little more than counter-limitations to offer, the task of rediscovering the contributions of dissenters to our political heritage will unfortunately be left to such people as Howard Fast.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

The German Problem

GERMAN REALITIES. By Gustav Stolper. Reynal and Hitchcock $3.75.

TO GUSTAV STOLPER'S last passionate effort—he died a few days after finishing "German Realities"—we owe a book which may well be compared with Keynes's "Economic Consequences of the Peace." What Keynes did for Versailles, Stolper does for Yalta and Potsdam. There will be criticism from the left, and with good reason. The late economist was a believer in "municipal socialism," but he was also a believer in laissez faire; and he hated the Soviet leaders as much as he hated Hitler. In general his argument is based on economic, historical, humanitarian grounds; but at moments he gives us to understand that while Germany must in any case be allowed to rebuild its industries and to run them freely in order to live, it may also be needed as a bulwark against the East. He might well have restricted himself to *German* realities: economic stagnation and misery in Germany must be overcome, and it is irrelevant to raise the Soviet menace as a reason.

This show of bias weakens but does not vitiate Stolper's argument. And unfortunately the left, so far, has produced no document on Germany which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

displays the grasp of vital economic facts or the thoroughly informed and human earnestness of this analysis by a member of Herbert Hoover's mission.

The book comes late. Stolper's devastating criticism is concentrated on the Quebec program ("The industries of the Ruhr and the Saar would therefore be put out of action, closed down"), the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, the first American occupation directive and the Allied Control Council's first level-of-industry plan. These plans and directives, including the payment of reparations in capital assets, pointed to a greatly restricted German industrial output—principally in order to eliminate the German war potential. Stolper explodes the fallacy in his reasoning, as it had already been exploded in Hoover's report. Any industry can be converted to the uses of war, but the conversion takes time and cannot be kept secret.

It is possible to keep German steel from being used for the manufacture of tanks—given a permanent policy and the will to enforce it. The attempt to eliminate the possibility of such use is a monstrous pseudo-solution born of a lack of trust in the permanence of any policy and the will to carry it out.

The revised Anglo-American level-of-industry plan has already done away with many of Dr. Stolper's objections. It is probable that before long his wishes will be entirely fulfilled and that the western Germans will be allowed to produce what they can and sell it where they can. It is also probable that this revision will come too late to do much good psychologically and that the German economic misery of the past three years is already crystallizing into some dark and hostile myth which bodes ill for the future.

According to Dr. Stolper's statistics, the Western world has little to fear from such a myth. He asserts that Germany is destroyed once and for all as a military nation and that its population will have been reduced to forty million by 1980. His figures are as conclusive as such biological statistics can be, and from the German point of view depressing indeed. But Germany's biological statistics must have been even more depressing after the Thirty Years' War. There are factors here which statistics cannot measure; and besides, Stolper's statistics are not always good. Adding up the Germans expelled from the east, he finds six million unaccounted for; then he hints at the possibility that these six million have been killed off by the Poles and Czechs; and a little later takes it for granted. Six million—"the figure is about equal to the maximal estimate of Jews exterminated by the Nazis. The greatest crime against humanity in modern history has been answered by another crime of equal proportions." Untrue. If extermination on such a scale had occurred we should have heard about it. The German expulsions are barbaric, fateful, and stupid enough as they are; there is no need for such a blatant exaggeration.

There are other statements in "German Realities" which the reviewer cannot accept—actual historical errors, simplifications, false accents, dubious comparisons. Much nonsense was written during the war about the German "thousand-year conspiracy," and it was to be expected that a reaction would follow. Perhaps we can congratulate ourselves that it goes no further than it does in Stolper's book. In exonerating nineteenth-century Germany he offers many sound arguments but overdoes his case; and he may have noticed as much himself, for even he needs a main culprit, and finds one—in Austria-Hungary.

To say that until Hitler came to power Germany was "never out of tune with the spirit and the ethics of the times" makes the story considerably simpler than it is. To say that Germany was "Hitler's first victim" is both trite and untrue. Indignation, to be effective, should be more discriminating. It is one thing to protest against the new western frontiers of Poland—"The lightheartedness with which the fate of East Germany was settled defies all historical comparison"—and another to cry to high heaven because some German prisoners of war had been kept in France for a while to help rebuild what they destroyed.

Yet such over- and understatements detract little from the value of Dr. Stolper's accomplishment. "German Realities" is factual and systematic, a knowing book with an undertone of profound sadness. It was written by a reasonable man, but a man who was a friend of the past, a liberal conservative, a European who must have suffered very much from the terrible upheaval of our times. He touches upon many matters which are not likely to receive attention in this country but which are nevertheless significant for the future of our civilization—for instance, the psychological consequences of the destruction of the German cities.

All that Stolper hopes for is the revival of Germany industry, the incorporation of western Germany in the Marshall Plan, the defense of a most precarious balance of power. Whoever considers the split between East and West as definite can hardly hope for anything better. GOLO MANN

In Brief

ESSAYS IN THE THEORY OF EMPLOYMENT. By Joan Robinson. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

AN ARTICULATE and keen disciple of Keynes, Mrs. Robinson wrote in 1936 a number of essays elaborating the system of thought which Keynes introduced. A new edition, with virtually no changes, has now been published in England and imported by Macmillan. The work is technical, closely reasoned, and in the abstract vein common to both Keynes and the classicists whose conclusions he opposed. A book for economists and their libraries; other adventurous minds may sharpen their wits on it but should not regard the conclusions as gospel.

OUR PLUNDERED PLANET. By Fairfield Osborn. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

HERE is a readable little book telling an old story, but a story so little regarded in practice that the book should be in the hands of every schoolboy and schoolgirl and on the desk of every member of Congress and state legislator. Populations increase by steady multiplication; man ravages the earth by cutting its forests and letting its soil wash and blow away. In one region after another man deprives himself of the natural basis of adequate sustenance. There is hope; conservation has been discovered and is here and there applied, but it fights a continual battle against immediate interest and carelessness. Unless we do better, desert and jungle will inherit the earth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

FROM English Decca comes the first, K. 387, of Mozart's set of six string quartets dedicated to Haydn—one of those that are less frequently played than K.421 and K.458, but not because they are less beautiful and affecting examples of Mozart's matured quartet-writing—recorded by the Griller Quartet (ED-48, $9.45). I was much impressed by this group's playing when it first returned here after the war—not only by its technical perfection but by its rightness of musical feeling in tempo and phrasing. Hearing it again the past season I was disturbed by a new fussiness and affectation. And listening now to the first movement of the Mozart work I am disturbed by exaggeration this time of metrical and phraseological accentuation, which produces a crude treatment of music which must be played with elegance and grace. These qualities the Grillers do impart to the minuet movement, which they play beautifully; but even here there are traces of a preciousness which is very pronounced in the slow movement. The performance is superbly reproduced; and on the whole the set is better than the old Columbia with the Roth Quartet performance.

English Decca also has issued a recording of Debussy's "Iberia" made by Münch and the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (ED-51, $7.35). I am unable to compare this performance with Reiner's in the Columbia set; but I recall the deadness of the Columbia recorded sound, as against the rich resonance of the Decca, its spaciousness and distinctness which enable one to hear clearly the strands of the dense polyphonic texture of the marvelous work. But pace is as important as tone; and I don't think it is only because I am accustomed to Toscanini's tempos that the second movement, as Münch conducts it, seems to drag, and the last seems erratic in spots. The real trouble, I think, is that the music doesn't move with continuity in Münch's tempo. Nevertheless I would say again that on the whole this recorded performance is preferable to the Reiner.

As for Berlioz's "Fantastic" Symphony (ED-56, $13.65), Van Beinum's performance with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra is excellent, and is reproduced with a spaciousness and distinctness of beautiful recorded sound that enables me to hear things in Berlioz's lively orchestral texture that I have no recollection of having heard before. I recall that the Monteux performance in the RCA Victor set was good and well reproduced, but not reproduced as superbly as Van Beinum's.

From Victor comes a set (DM-1223, $3.50) of Falla's engaging Seven Popular Songs sung by Carmen Torres, soprano, with a fresh, clear voice that gets a little shrill at times, and with superb piano accompaniments by John Newmark.

Also a set (DM-1225, $4.75) of Borodin's Symphony No. 2 performed by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony. The Borodin method of repeating a few attractive themes in a number of different keys doesn't produce much of a symphony. The performance is good and well reproduced.

Also a set (DM-1224, $3.50) of engaging excerpts from Handel's "The Faithful Shepherd," played by Kindler with the National Symphony. I am unable to say whether Kindler has chosen the same excerpts as Beecham; but I doubt that Beecham's performance engulfs them in such mountainous seas of sound. The performance is well reproduced.

And a few single discs: the Dance of the Seven Veils from Strauss's "Salome," terrible music well performed by Beecham with the Royal Philharmonic and well reproduced (12-0344, $1.25); Liszt's Sonetto del Petrarca No. 104 for piano, which I find pretentious in its quiet way, and which is well played by William Kapell (12-0342, $1.25); Bartók's Rondo No. 1 on a Folk Tune and Bulgarian Dance No. 1 from "Mikrokosmos" for piano, and Khatchaturian's Chant Poème for violin and piano, all of which are, in their various ways, poor music, and all of which are well performed by Maro Ajemian, pianist, and Anahid Ajemian, violinist (12-0343, $1.25).

Next Week in *The Nation*

David Wark Griffith

BY JAMES AGEE

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS *For Your Convenience*

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . $8.50 You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumers Union . . $9.75 You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union . $12.25 You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $6 ☐ 2 Years $10 ☐ 3 Years $14

☐ SERVICEMEN'S RATE $4 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

8/14/48

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Seattle Hootenany

Dear Sirs: A lot of people in Seattle these days don't know whether to laugh or cry over the tragi-comic public hearings recently conducted here by the state legislative committee on un-American activities, known locally as the Canwell committee. The committee, whose pre-hearing investigation was described in an editorial note in *The Nation* of July 24, is named after its chairman, A. S. Canwell of Spokane, a former portrait photographer and deputy sheriff. Composed entirely of Republicans, it was established by a joint resolution of the state legislature, and since its ostensible purpose is to make recommendations for legislation on un-American activities, it has been okayed by the state supreme court.

The public hearings, staged in late July, featured "Forty University of Washington Professors Forty!" and special guest artists brought all the way from New York. Among the latter were J. B. Matthews, former investigator for the Dies committee; Howard Rushmore, of the New York *Journal American;* and George Hewitt, former New York Communist leader, who explained that he had been taught to lie in Moscow.

Three of the subpoenaed professors wouldn't say if they were Communists or not. But a more dramatic show was provided by the professors who admitted having become Communists during the depression and later quit the party. When asked to "squeal" on colleagues they had once known as comrades, all but one refused to do so, despite private warnings that they might never teach again and would lay themselves open to imprisonment if they didn't "sing." They were not, as some observers expected them to be, defiant or righteously indignant. To the last man and woman, they refused to testify, taking this stand with halting, strained voices and expressions which bespoke physical pain. One composition teacher of sixty-six merely wept. Anthropologist Melville Jacobs slowly declared, "I cannot, Mr. Canwell, I simply cannot tell!" Another professor said that he would not be able to live with himself if he gave away the friends he considered to be loyal citizens. And English Professor Garland Ethel launched into, "To thine own self be true . . ." Their performances did not draw laughter, although Mr. Rushmore, who had recognized the quotation from Hamlet, referred thereafter to Dr. Ethel as "Professor Polonius." The English teacher, by the way, was later cited for contempt.

In the course of the hearing, the committee came up with a few original twists that will probably be useful to un-American committees in other states. It produced one charge difficult to describe; one of the attorneys for the professors thinks that it might be called the doctrine of "guilty though innocent." This attorney, Edgar Henry, buttonholed a committee member in a corridor outside the main hall—lawyers were not permitted to speak at the hearings—to ask whether it was believed that a man could possibly be a Communist without knowing it. According to Henry, the committeeman's reply was a simple, "Yes." Henry then asked whether one of his clients could be considered in this novel category. The professor in question had been subpoenaed because he was one of fifty-four teachers who, in 1935, had indorsed four other professors who had spoken on a platform with a man who, four years later, turned out to be a Communist. To Henry's second question, the committeeman again answered, "Yes," but added, "If he'll confess, we'll let him go."

The whole spectacle—or hootenany, as one of the special witnesses chose to call it—may have had a happier end result than many observers foresaw. Since the committee had raised the curtain on its burlesque by hinting broadly, if darkly, at the potential unmasking of 150 campus Communists, and since one of the committeemen had, on the floor of the state legislature, wistfully contemplated being granted the power of summary execution of Communists, the eventual disclosure of only three probables gave a nice surprise turn to the affair. As it was put editorially by the *Post-Intelligencer,* a Hearst paper and a strong supporter of the investigation, the hearings had been of great service in showing that the University of Washington was *not* a hotbed of communism. This delighted almost everybody except the forty professors who had been subpoenaed and the more than 100 who had been investigated. They had, apparently, not previously been aware of the true intention of the hearings, and could only register amazement when they learned what it was.

WILMOTT RAGSDALE

Seattle, Wash., August 6

[*Mr. Ragsdale, a former correspondent for* Time *and* Life, *is now on the West Coast at work on a novel.*—EDITORS THE NATION]

Is Rossi Objective?

Dear Sirs: I should like to protest strongly against Mario Rossi's description of the current Italian scene in your issue of July 24. I can only surmise that Mr. Rossi lives in a dream world of his own, where Stalinist shibboleths have taken the place of realistic and logical reportage.

He asserts that the De Gasperi government is morally responsible for the attempt on Togliatti's life. He reaches this by a fantastic route: De Gasperi is anti-Stalinist; the would-be assassin was anti-Stalinist; De Gasperi is therefore responsible for the attempted assassination. To use this device in another context, Roosevelt was against unemployment; Hitler was against unemployment; therefore Roosevelt was a Nazi. The same ridiculous line of reasoning has been used by some Americans who hold that Walter Reuther must have been shot by a Communist.

In discussing the Socialist Party congress, Rossi supports the refusal of Nenni and Basso to "split the working class" by taking an anti-Stalinist position. Although there have been many variations on the theme of working-class unity in eastern Europe recently, the true purpose of this unity is seldom revealed. Socialist attempts to split the unity of the German working class in the Nazi Labor Front were hardly blameworthy, because the unity in that case worked toward a totalitarian end. In Italy today, it should be the duty of Socialists to wreck the totalitarian unity of DiVittorio's CGIL, and replace it with a democratic trade-union structure. The CGIL is Stalin's chief weapon in Italy, and until its nature is changed, Italian workers will have uneasy dreams of Czechoslovakia and the role that the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"united" working class played in defending democracy in that country.

I should also like to criticize Rossi's attitude towards the land reforms presently being undertaken by the Christian Democrats. He feels that, since the Roman Catholic church has come out for reform, there must be something fishy —so Saragat, Pacciardi and Lombardo are betraying the working class and anticlericalism by joining the De Gasperi government. This is a new high in doctrinaire negativism. Rossi looks upon the Italians as voters, not human beings, and it apparently has not occurred to him that some Socialists might be more concerned with the well-being of the people than with the possibility of the Catholic church kidnapping the proletariat. Saragat, Silone, and Lombardo have proven that they can rise above the limitations of doctrinaire Marxism; Nenni and Basso have proven themselves the true heirs of the "Maximalists," who, by their stubborn refusal to work with non-Marxist democrats, opened the door to Mussolini and Fascism.

JOHN P. ROCHE

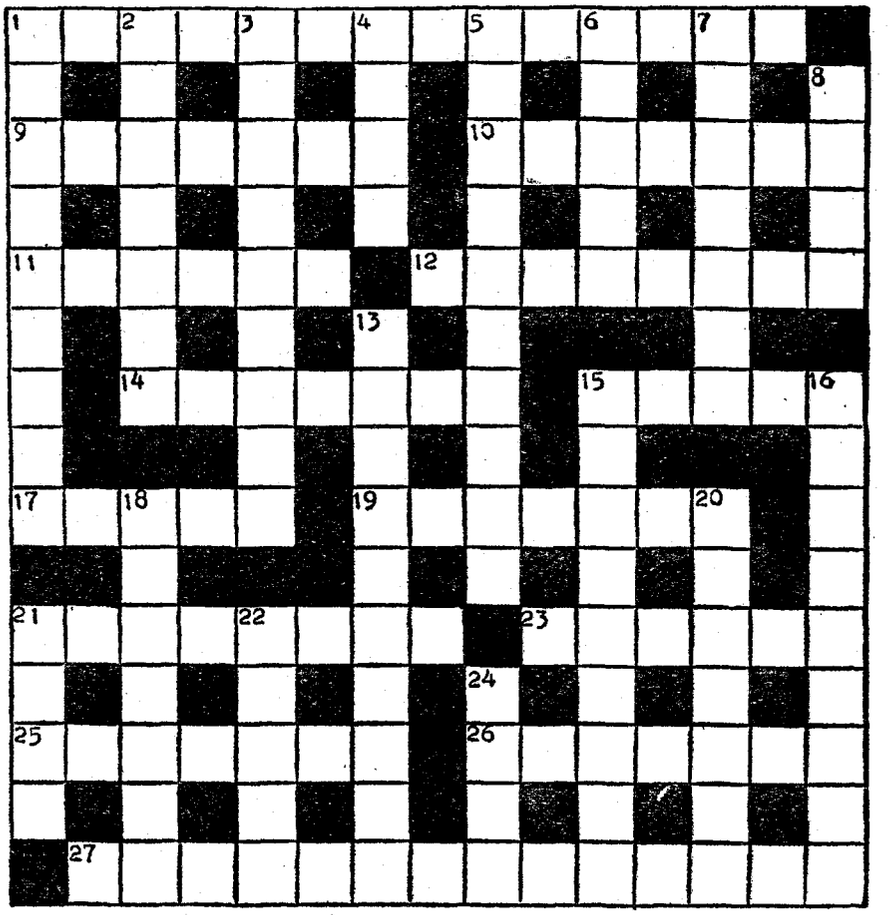
Ithaca, N. Y., July 24

Justice Is Justice

Dear Sirs: American liberals, in strange alliance with fierce nationalists, racialists, and theocrats, do not seem to realize the danger of the Palestine precedent. There was a country which had ceased to be Jewish two thousand years ago and which had been Arabic for fully a thousand years. An outside authority, without consulting the inhabitants, decided to force an unwelcome immigration upon it, with the avowed purpose of shifting the majority and changing the allegiance of the land. Many in America are urging that the material power of the United Nations be used to impose that solution. What the world—unwisely, in my opinion—claimed the right to do in Palestine, could be attempted on a larger scale in America. The precedent is deadly. "Ah! but the comparison is foolish. The Palestinian Arabs, even with the help of all their sympathizers in neighboring lands, are powerless against the might of the giants, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., united for once—and terribly embarrassed by the fact. Who is going to treat us like another Palestine, compel us to admit Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, in unlimited numbers, until a vital part of our territory be made thoroughly Asiatic?" What is the difference? Simply that "we have got the men, we have got the ships, and we have got the

Crossword Puzzle No. 274

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 11, 27, 23, 21 across, 15 across. Calling for almost any one of these? (4, 3, 4, 3, 6,—3, 5, 6, 6, 8, 5)
9 Not necessarily the quality of laminated material. (7)
10 By which Louis went to the barber. (7)
11 See 1.
12 A couple of pairs who play as a matter of course. (8)
14 We show a run when it's our deal. (7)
15 See 1.
17 Bales of fur. (5)
19 Remarque made an arch of this. (7)
21 and 23. See 1.
25 Where you might find hidden danger, and mine comes before the season ends. (7)
26 See 22.
27 See 1.

DOWN

1 Curios which are found around a British tavern (or France and U. S., for that matter)! (9)
2 Just a little mite, but a darned pest! (7)
3 True, I'm in a little mix-up! (9)
4 They don't agree to raise their hands. (4)
5 What makes the pooch tired? (10)
6 Spirit, or a report of one. (5)
7 Self-introduction of a churchman, from the very first? (1, 6)
8 As a hint, Clare Boothe has changed her name. (4)
13 One tenor has the measure in him of another. (10)
15 Quiet shadows do it softly. (4, 3, 2)
16 Of necessity, perhaps, the Richard who was looking for his horse. (4, 5)
18 Obviously this sort of boor would have skill on the return at tennis. (7)
20 How not to get started right in the army. (7)
21 Lugubrious expression of a poem. (4)
22 and 26 across. Found around lathes, with determination. (5, 3, 4)
24 One is over the line and two under. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 273

ACROSS:—1 DESOTO; 4 BRANDISH; 10 ABYSMAL; 11 FLANGES; 12 RAILS; 13 CUE; 14 STALE; 15 BREAK; 17 SUBPOENA; 21 PLAYMATE; 23 FASTS; 26 FENCE; 28 ASH; 29 SPARE; 30 HEARSAY; 31 USELESS; 32 NIDULANT; 33 AMUSED.

DOWN:—1 DIATRIBE; 2 SKYLINE; 3 TIMES; 5 RIFLE; 6 NEARS; 7 INGRAIN; 8 HASTEN; 9 BLACK SEA; 16 KEY; 18 BOETHIUS; 19 OAF; 20 ASPERSED; 22 LANYARD; 24 SHAKERS; 27 EASEL; 28 ARYAN; 29 STEAM.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK — MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction. All outdoor activities. Tennis, golf, bicycles, mile-long lake, all water sports, fine fishing. Varied indoor program. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Television. Superb library of books and recordings. Moderate rates.

CASA MANOR
LAKE COSSAYUNA, N. Y.
Only 20 miles from famed Saratoga. Comfortable, restful atmosphere. Excellent Food. Swimming, boating, fishing, etc. From July First. Adults $45 weekly. Children $25. Write or call.
JACOB M. OLSHANSKY
86 State Street, Albany, New York
Phone: Albany 5-0363 or Greenwich 36F13

PINECREST IN THE BERKSHIRES
On the HOUSATONIC RIVER

A delightful adult resort. 150 acres of Pines and Hemlocks in a panoramic setting of the rugged Berkshires. Main house and Deluxe Bungalows for Two. Boating, swimming, excellent tennis courts. Bicycles, Music, Recordings, Social and Square dancing. Near stock theatres and Music and Dance Festival.
West Cornwall, Conn. • Tel. Cornwall 89-W3
Diana and Abe Berman

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE
STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK
90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central
Charming lake and countryside. Bathing, boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful walks. Excellent food. Ideal for vacation and weekends.
Adults • Rate: $50
RESERVE EARLY
GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2931

Relax, Rejoice with Summer at
Lakecrest
On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
Informal Retreat for ADULTS in the heart of Dutchess County. 90 miles from New York via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. All Seasonal Sports. Library, delicious food, modern accommodations. Write or phone reservations. Stanfordville 2328 or 2982. Eva Berg, Director.
• MODERATE RATES •

THE NICEST PEOPLE
come to enjoy the entertainment of Lou Kleinman et al, while making friends and enjoying the fine accommodations, excellent food, superb sports facilities (tennis, swimming, baseball, handball, riding, etc.) and dancing, all available at attractive rates. Easy to reach by bus, train or door-to-door taxi service. *For a wonderful vacation, make an early reservation at*
CHESTERS ZUMBARO
WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

Minerva Hill Lodge MINERVA NEW YORK
Route 28N. Roosevelt-Mt. Marcy Highway
Tel.: North Creek 55F-3 Elev. 2000 ft. Ragweed-free
You will enjoy the excellent accommodation, the high-class meals, the cultured atmosphere, the scenic natural beauty and invigorating mountain air at $50 weekly. Free illustrated booklet on request.

money too." And this is the negation of all we are striving for.

Haile Selassie warned the League of Nations: "What you are doing unto us may some day be done unto you." I have been a friend and defender of the Jews all my life and have no reason to feel any special sympathy for the Arabs. But justice is justice; and the solution we are attempting to force upon Palestine is not just. ALBERT GUÉRARD

Palo Alto, Calif., July 22.

Must Reality Be Proved?

Dear Sirs: Readers of *The Nation* will realize that there has been no debate, properly speaking, between Mr. Blanshard and myself, for Mr. Blanshard held the floor at some length during twelve issues of the magazine whereas I made it only once, and briefly. Each of his instalments ran to four or five thousand words, but *The Nation* last January rejected one article, about that long, in which I tried to tell what he had omitted, misstated, or misunderstood in his first three. The editors, so they pleasantly and courteously informed me, felt that my point of view deserved representation in their pages, but not at such length. Thus they reminded me that the occasion was not, after all, a debate, and that no rebuttals were necessarily contemplated, at least not from me. I do not summon up these facts in order to complain of *The Nation*, which has a perfect right to print or to reject anything it pleases, but to establish the nature of the interchange. The editors were receptive to a short comment, and I am grateful for that favor.

If there have been, as Mr. Blanshard says, "diatribes" in the Catholic press against his articles, I must observe that the articles invited them; it is the fate of diatribes to provoke counter-diatribes. Perhaps, when the dust settles, some of the participants may have a better grasp of the matter. The burden of proof, as Mr. Blanshard says, is on the Catholic who thinks that, in teaching the doctrines of the church (the doctrines of the church, not Mr. Blanshard's version of them), the priest speaks in the name of Christ. Certainly it is, and if you want to hear the proof —if you really want to hear it—go and ask for it from those who are qualified to give it; be serious and patient, take it one step at a time, as you would if you were trying to learn how to treat poliomyelitis or how to service a Boeing engine. The burden of proof rests on the advocate, but the burden of atten-

RESORTS

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sports activities. Excellent cuisine.
Phone Armonk Village 955 & 762

Holiday Inn
On Laurel Lake Lee, Massachusetts
In the heart of the Berkshires
Dance Festival and Berkshire Playhouse nearby
SWIMMING • BOATING • FISHING
ON SPRING-FED MOUNTAIN LAKE
Excellent Tennis • Recordings
Rates: $50, $55, meals included. Adults only
Reservations available after August 14

DIFFERENT FROM THE REST COME SEE FOR YOURSELF
Accommodates 55 • 29th Season
Rates: $12 a day. $70 a week.
TED OHMER'S WESTERN VIEW FARM
New Milford, Connecticut Tel.: New Milford 440

PUBLISHING SERVICE

BOOK MSS. WANTED
Complete publishing services, including editorial, production and distribution facilities for books and pamphlets.
Write Dept. 4 for free literature.
THE *Exposition* PRESS
One Spruce Street • New York 7, N. Y.

BOOK CLUB

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, Sept. Selection: "The Big Yankee" by Michael Blankfort—Brilliant biography of Gen. Carlson of Carlson's Marine Raiders. Regular $4 edition for $1.20 (plus 15¢ postage and handling) to club members. For complete information write: Dept. N, Liberty Book Club, 220 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C. 18

MAGAZINE

PROGRESSIVE WORLD—The Thinker's Magazine. Fastest Growing Freethought Publication in America. "Owned by Subscribers" Free sample copy. Address: Clifton, N. J.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

WRITERS! Conscientious sales service for your stories, books, articles, etc. Send for circular today! Daniel S. Mead, Literary Agency, 264 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. 1.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass.-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

Say you saw it advertised in
The NATION
TO PLACE AN AD CALL
BArclay 7-1066

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

UNITY HOUSE
FOR AUGUST VACATIONS
Forest Park, Penna.
BUSHKILL 183
ALFRED A. TAXIN, Mgr.
Write: 1710 BROADWAY, N.Y. 19, N.Y.
COLUMBUS 5-7000
- Unity House is owned and operated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on a non-profit basis.

MAKE THIS SUMMER A High Point IN YOUR LIFE!
Resort Hotel in the Berkshires. Friendly atmosphere, natural swimming pool, unexcelled cuisine. Convenient to Music & Dance Festivals. Chamber Music. For particulars:
High Point, New Marlboro, Mass.
Phone: Great Barrington 706M4

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy Estate in the "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Private swimming pool. Sun deck. Tennis. Handball. Magnificent mountain trails. Horses. Recordings. Informal dancing. Golf nearby. Easy transportation. Delicious food.
Attractive Rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

YOU'RE AT YOUR BEST AT THE
Glenmere
ask anyone who's been there!
CHESTER, NEW YORK
PHONE CHESTER 200 • N. Y. PHONE RECTOR 2-5047

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Swimming pool • Golf • Tennis • Television
Unexcelled Music and Book Library
An Adult Resort 45 Miles from New York City
Telephone: HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100
SPECIAL SEPTEMBER RATES
ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS
N. Y. Office: 33 West 42nd Street, LOngacre 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

MAUD'S
SUMMER-RAY
Maud & Rom, Mgt.
North Branch 5, Sullivan County, N. Y.
Telephone: Callicoon 95 or 148
NEWLY BUILT SWIMMING POOL
With Overhead Solarium
ORCHESTRA. ENTERTAINMENT. BAR, DRAMA
TENNIS, ALL SPORTS
FOLK DANCE INSTRUCTION
GROUP SINGING, LECTURES
City Phone: SPring 7-6574

tion, and of justice, rests on the judge, who in this case would be you. I assure you that Mr. Blanshard has not assumed that burden for you. And I do not lightly disparage his competence, but what am I to say when I find him now declaring that the primacy of the See of Peter (and indeed the very existence of the church) "has no biblical authority except one ambiguous, and possibly spurious, passage in Matthew," whereas I know it to be supported by passages in all four gospels and by others in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul? As for the lines in St. Matthew, I do not know to whom it first occurred that they were spurious, but the idea that they are ambiguous could only have occurred to someone in a dream. What ambiguity is to be found in Christ's calling St. Peter the rock on which He would build His church? The quotation acquires more force the farther back you go, for while the words meaning "Peter" and "rock" in Latin and Greek are very similar, in Aramaic, which Our Lord spoke, they are identical.

On the one hand, the proof; on the other, the reality. There is a narrowness, at times amounting to a fool's paradise, in which bookish disputants too easily feel at home. It would interest me to see what Mr. Blanshard might write if, as a relief from his volumes on canon law, he would go to the parish house nearest him in Thetford Center, and ask permission in a friendly way to learn about the work of the priest and the life of the parish. Then he would see the social effects that are so important to him at first hand, rather than through such intermediaries as an opinion poll conducted by *The Woman's Home Companion* (ambiguous is the word here). He would find, if he were objective, that there was something humbly impressive about the social effects viewed as closely as that.

For my part, although some apologists have said that the faults of the faithful are not the faults of the church, I rather think they are, and that the church abundantly partakes, not only of certain perfections, but of the imperfections of humankind. Smugness and pride are unbecoming in a Catholic. But these qualities should not be confused with firmness in belief—the firmness that may seem rigor but is only consistency. Consistency with what? With a truth so clear and merciful, at the heart of the difficult world, that I have ventured on the presumption of speaking for it here. ROBERT FITZGERALD

New York, July 22

RESORTS

Incomparable vacation spot. Luxurious accommodations and cuisine; best sports and social activities.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y. • Tel. MAHOPAC 688

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square and folk dancing.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

Yours for Vacation Enjoyment
HILLTOP LODGE
On beautiful Sylvan Lake
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.
65 miles from N. Y. C. • R. R. Station, Pawling, N. Y.
Every conceivable Sport and Recreation . . . with intimate, congenial people
EXCEPTIONALLY FINE TENNIS COURTS
Extensive Improvements to Maintain and to Increase Our Many Facilities
Under direction of: PAUL WOLFSON & SOL ROTHAUSER
New York Office: 105 NASSAU ST. COrtlandt 7-3958

PLUM POINT
Vacation Playground
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

THE FIELDSTONE
On Round Island Lake
V TENNIS • fast clay courts
V SWIMMING • BOATING • on natural lake
V HANDBALL • BICYCLES • PING-PONG
SO . . . MAKE A DATE
PHONE 7965 MONROE, N. Y.

Blue Sky Lodge
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
Telephone: Chestertown 2555
On Schroon Lake
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Adult Camp—Strictly Kosher
Tennis, Handball, Volley Ball, Ping-Pong and all other athletic activities. Rowing and swimming in beautiful Schroon Lake. Informal entertainment. Most congenial atmosphere.
HYMAN E. GOLDIN

COLD BROOK HOUSE
Amidst mountain peaks in picturesque Catskill Park. 200 ft. wide trout stream at front door. All sports on premises or nearby. Excellent home cooking. Friendly restful atmosphere.
RATES FROM $35. ADULTS
The Missens Shokan 2648
Boiceville, New York

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will you give a dollar to stop a plague?

YOU have seen it happen.

You have seen how liberty dies in the modern world.

A speaker is silenced, a publication is banned. The plague of tyranny starts with little things.

Now, in this land that grew great on freedom, there are those who have turned against freedom.

Speakers *have* been silenced. Publications *have* been banned.

Of these, *The Nation* is only the latest, not the first.

It must be the last. You must see to it that it is the last.

* * *

WHAT was our offense?

We published articles displeasing to the officials of the Roman Catholic church.

They were not anti-religious articles. They dealt critically—but soberly and responsibly—with the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to exert influence in matters outside the religious sphere.

The facts of these articles have never been disproved. The opinions were no more than any man has a right to express, as a responsible social critic, for your acceptance or rejection.

And for this *The Nation* has been cast out of the public schools of New York City, of Newark and Trenton, N. J., and out of the teachers' colleges of Massachusetts, and from other places where this contagion of darkness has spread.

For this, the magazine that has fought since the Civil War for the great American humanistic causes, that has been a rostrum for many of our classic men of letters, and that has always defended the rights of Catholic and other minorities —this magazine has now been stigmatized as unfit for the young people of America's public schools.

* * *

WHO is under attack?

It is not *The Nation* that is under attack—nor is it the survival of *The Nation* as a magazine that matters.

It is the right to information, the right to opinion, the right of the American mind to be free from control by any power group — whether clerical, political or economic — that are under attack. And these things matter very much indeed.

No institution in public life—neither a corporation, nor a church, nor the Government of the United States itself—has the right to stifle reasonable discussion of its public conduct.

That is basic in our Constitution. It is the heart of what we like to call the American Way.

And it is the real meaning of the fight to lift the ban on *The Nation*.

* * *

WE ARE attacking this creeping plague, this conspiracy against thought, in many ways:

- First, through a campaign to familiarize the public with the deeper issues involved and to mobilize public opinion against the growing menace of thought control.
- Second, with the New York State Commissioner of Education, who has the power to review and repeal the ban.
- Third, through the formulation of a more acceptable set of standards for the selection of literature in the public schools with a view to their adoption. A committee of educators, writers, lawyers and other qualified persons is working on this project now.
- Finally, we shall go to the courts, if necessary—for a Constitutional right is at stake.

And because such activities involve many expenses, your dollar, or your ten dollars, or your thousand dollars will play a critically important part in our success.

Contribute what you can. Talk to people. Write to officials. Stand up for freedom.

For when the bell tolls for The Nation, *it tolls also for thee. . . .*

The NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

You have my support in the fight to lift the ban. I enclose my contribution toward the expenses of the campaign.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

8/14/48

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED